

178169

150066

JPRS 83423

6 May 1983

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2138

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for public release;
Distribution Unlimited

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 2

19980609 192

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

4
130
A-11

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

6 May 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2138

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Flight of Hungarian Minority Arouses Reaction
(IRODALMI UJSAG, No 1, 1983) 1
- Changed Situation, by Tibor Meray
Appeal to Madrid
Letter to Hungarian Authorities

BULGARIA

- Admiral Dobrev Comments on U.S., NATO Activities in Mediterranean
(Ivan Dobrev; ZEMEDELSP ZNAME, 13 Mar 83) 16
- Tribute to Lyudmila Zhivkova's Patriotism
(Panteley Zarev; SPISANIE NA BULGARSKATA AKADEMIYA NA
NAUKITE, No 6, 1982) 20

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Interview With Former Dubcek Aide
(Jiri Hajek Interview; LE MATIN, 11 Apr 83) 22
- TU Report Critical of Continued Problems of Workers
(Jirina Vesela; PRACE, 23 Mar 83) 24

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Defense Minister Issues Stern Warning on NATO Arms Buildup
(Heinz Hoffmann; VOLKSARMEE, No 7, 1983) 48
- Release of Seven Jena Dissidents, Fate of Others Discussed
(Various sources, various dates) 54
- Report on Release
Former Dissident's Interview, Michael Blumhagen Interview
Commentary on Peace Activities, by Peter-Jochen Winters

Economics Chief Mittag Assessed as Possible Honecker Successor (Helmut Loelhoeffel; SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 9-10 Apr 83)	63
Preconceived Moralistic Norms of 'Socialist Personality' Debunked (Various sources, various dates)	65
West German Commentary GDR Critic's Analysis, by Guenter Ebert	
HUNGARY	
Controversial Political Singer Dinnyes Interviewed (Jozsef Dinnyes Interview; KRITIKA, Mar 83)	72
POLAND	
Jelenia Gora Province Party Activities Reported (GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, various dates)	78
Comments of Reports-Programs Conference Delegate, Wiktorja Juchniewicz Interview Comments of Jerzy Gruszka on Conference Comments of Adam Herzog on Conference	
Kielce Province Party Activities Reported (SLOWO LUDU, various dates)	83
Political Atmosphere, Living Conditions Assessment of Party Strengths, Weaknesses, Tadeusz Maryniak Secretary Marian Orzechowski's Speech	
Suwalki Province Party Activities Reported (GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA, various dates)	91
Assessment of Residential Construction Suwalki Party Status, by Ryszard Klimaszewski Status, Development of Work Conditions Political-Economic Situation, by Ryszard Klimaszewski Preparations for Reports-Programs Conference, by Jerzy Marks Gallup Poll on Youth Party Work, by Jerzy Marks	
Provincial Party Activities Reported (Various sources, various dates)	105
Konin Province Party Plenum Gizela Pawlowska's Katowice Interview Kielce Executive Board on Reorganization Joint PZPR-ZSL Deliberations in Krakow	

Provincial Party Activities Continued (GAZETA POZNANSKA, various dates)	110
--	-----

Poznan Reports-Programs Conference Resolution
Poznan Executive Board on Workers' Independence
Marian Dobrosielski's Interview

Further Reportage on Provincial Party Activities (Various sources, various dates)	119
--	-----

Czestochowa Province Field Trip Meeting
Suwalki Province Executive Meeting
Szczecin Maritime Commission Meeting
Olsztyn Province Executive Meeting

YUGOSLAVIA

Allegations of Slovene Cultural Chauvinism Denied (Matjaz Kmecl Interview; VJESNIK, 29 Mar 83)	125
---	-----

Yugoslav Press Correspondents Abroad (NASA STAMPA, Feb 83)	128
---	-----

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PLIGHT OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY AROUSES REACTION

Changed Situation

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian No 1, 1983 p 3

[Report by Tibor Meray, editor of IRODALMI UJSAG giving background of recent developments concerning the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania]

[Text] Something has started in Transylvania. More precisely, some people have taken a stand. Courageous people at the end of 1981, started up a (Samizdat) periodical under the title COUNTERPOINTS, the purpose of which being--according to their own formulation--to "give information on the deprivation of human rights in Eastern and Central Europe, including the political and cultural oppression of Transylvanian Hungarians." The IRODALMI UJSAG (No 4, 1982, p 3) briefly mentions the contents of the periodical's first issue. In October 1982, two documents were published in the COUNTERPOINTS (No 8) which I feel are, without exaggeration, of historical significance and which are published in their entirety on pp 4-5 of our present issue. One is entitled "Memorandum To The Participants Of The Madrid Conference to Supervise The Implementation Of The Helsinki Accords," and the other one is entitled "Program Proposal Of The Editors of COUNTERPOINTS To Change The Situation Of The Hungarians In Romania Deprived Of Their Legal Rights."

If I say that in the given framework they have an historical significance, it is because to my knowledge this is the first time since the end of the Second World War--or at least since the Paris Peace Treaty--that (in the case of the Memorandum) a group of Transylvanian Hungarians have turned to an international forum, asking for the establishment of an impartial international committee which would not only examine the situation of Hungarians in Romania but one that would also have arbitration powers regarding debated questions and powers of supervision. In the case of the Program Proposal it is the first time that a group of Transylvanian Hungarians are not asking but are demanding the institutional recognition of their basic constitutional and ethnic rights. These two documents created a new situation in the struggle for the rights of Transylvanian Hungarians which has been rather subdued to date.

The Romanian Communist police state instantly recognized the significance of the documents. Its organs of oppression pounced right away upon those thought to be the editors of COUNTERPOINTS and the authors of the MEMORANDUM and the PROGRAM PROPOSAL. Several Hungarian intellectuals were arrested and questioned, including Geza Szocs, one of the most talented poets of Transylvanian Hungarian literature; some of the, e.g., Szocs and Professor Karoly Toth and his wife, were treated brutally and then released but were forbidden to leave their hometown--presumably a legal process will be initiated against them.

The news of the flagrant injustices has also started a movement among the intellectuals in Hungary. On 20 November, a PROCLAMATION with 71 signatures was sent to Gyorgy Lazar, prime minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, to the Hungarian Writers' Association and to the Hungarian PEN Club; they called on everyone to protest against the actions of the Romanian authorities. They demanded the release of those still detained and the end of police harassment. (The entire text of the PROCLAMATION and the entire list of the names of signatories appears on page 4.) Those who signed include, in addition to the outstanding personalities of the Hungarian samizdat, nationally known writers, poets, sculptors, actors, scientists, world-famous musicians and film directors.

In my paper "Concerning Transylvania," which appeared exactly 4 years ago in the January-February 1979 issue of IRODALMI UJSAG, I wrote that in the fight for the rights of Transylvanian Hungarians, Hungarians have three army corps--not in the military sense.

The first is the Hungarian people in Transylvania. I added (pardon me for quoting myself) that "no one and nothing can substitute the fight at the scene. Those who became the leaders know better than any of us what the sacrifices and risks are. But they also know that there is no change and progress without sacrifice and risk. The more people that join them from the ranks of Hungarians in Romania, the more hopeful their courage and fight is."

The birth of COUNTERPOINTS, the MEMORANDUM and the PROGRAM PROPOSAL shows that the increasing oppression and instigation has elicited an increasing resistance and stance among the ranks of Hungarians in Romania. Their struggle has reached a new phase--beginning with individual stand symbolized by Karoly Kiraly they reached collective manifestations; from petitions addressed to the Communist party leadership they moved to demands, being confident in the support of international forums. As shown by police actions, the dangers to those Transylvanian Hungarians who are playing a leading role in widening front have also increased. Knowing all of this, special recognition and respect, and increased protection, is due to those who created the new forms of struggle--on location, in Transylvania--for human and minority rights, who take part in this struggle, risking their personal safety, health, and even lives. They are, above all, to be thanked for the fact that the "Transylvanian question" has been brought again into the light from the darkness of oblivion and that the world press in the past weeks has published extensive articles on the situation of Transylvanian Hungarians; they are to be thanked if--hopefully--the problem does reach the international forums.

The second army corps consists of the Hungarians in Hungary. We know how much the interest and sensitivity of our countrymen has grown with regard to the situation of Transylvanian Hungarians; but we also know that concern or sympathy with a few exceptions has hardly manifested itself except perhaps in feeling sorry or in reprimanding the Romanians. The PROCLAMATION of the 71 is the first significant collective stand. When we are trying to believe that it is not going to be the last, we are not thinking of the 71 signatories--they have done, and some of them have also done so earlier, what their consciences dictated--but we are thinking of those who did not or, for a lack of time or lack of contacts, could not sign the PROCLAMATION. Such a PROCLAMATION should actually carry 10 million signatures. Transylvanian Hungarians should always feel and know that Hungarians in Hungary have solidarity with them.

The necessity of activization also involves the third army corps, i.e., Hungarians living in the West. Our position is the best but we cannot boast either about our extensive activities. Here, too, only a few, and only seldomly, have initiated any action. In this new situation and with the reference material coming from Transylvania our foremost responsibility should be to make certain that the PROCLAMATION of the COUNTERPOINTS' editors to the participants of the Madrid conference does indeed reach all Western participants of the Madrid conference. In the countries where we live, it is our urgent task to urge the foreign ministries and Madrid delegations of the given countries to deal with the subject, to put it on the conference agenda! It is also our task to inform our host country's governments, parliament, representatives, senators, organizations that protect human rights, and Amnesty International groups of the danger threatening the alleged or real authors of the PROCLAMATION, their family and friends, and to do everything we can so that the Western organizations involved tell the Romanian authorities that their actions are watched and their continued violations of rights and retaliatory measures will not remain without consequences.

In my article quoted I also dealt with the attitude of the Hungarian state. I could not write anything else but the fact that the Hungarian state has not, and is not, achieving any results in the defense of Transylvanian Hungarians, but is content with deceptive pseudo-events such as the well publicized 1977 meeting of Kadar and Ceausescu which was not only not followed by an improvement of the situation but rather the situation has deteriorated even further.

The last few years have shown that the humble Soviet-allegiance of the Hungarian leadership has stood in the way of even just reaching some type of acceptable compromise with Ceausescu and his associates or opposing them in front of Hungary's public opinion, in the bilateral Romanian-Hungarian relations and in the various international forums.

The Hungarian Government is one of the signatories of the Helsinki Accords, and a participant in the Madrid conference which is to supervise the implementation of the Helsinki Accords. When outstanding Hungarian intellectuals ask--by risking their freedom and perhaps even their lives--the Madrid conference to deal with the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania, the Hungarian Government should be the first to support this request. To our knowledge, this has not happened.

When Transylvanian Hungarian democrats are arrested and tortured and their freedom is curtailed because they are Hungarian and because they hold democratic views, the Hungarian Government should speak up in Bucharest in defense of their human rights. Is there anyone who has seen this happen?

When 71 outstanding Hungarian intellectuals in Budapest sign a proclamation of solidarity with the persecuted Transylvanian Hungarians, the Hungarian press, radio and television should publicize this proclamation; the addresses--the prime minister, the Writers' Association, the Hungarian PEN Club--should deal with it, should answer it. Is there anyone who has seen this happen?

Yet something has happened. In March 1982, the Sport and Tourism Press of Bucharest published a savagely anti-Hungarian book by a party writer named Ion Lancranjan. The book is reviewed in detail by Elemer Illyes on page 2 of our present issue--let it suffice here to say that it could have hardly been published without highest Romanian party and state leadership consent.

Well, a reply to this book (i.e., a debate, no doubt with the consent of the highest Hungarian party and state leadership) was published in the October issue of the periodical VALOSAG of Budapest and then on television and on radio, by the writer-reporter Gyorgy Szaraz; the article that appeared in VALOSAG was then published in HUNGARIAN NEWS, the propaganda paper of the World Association of Hungarians, on its first three pages as if to emphasize to Hungarians living in the West: see, the Hungarian political leadership has the courage to oppose the Romanian leadership, is bold enough to take a stand in the Transylvanian question.

By reading the rather soft-voiced answer of Gyorgy Szaraz, it becomes apparent what caused--aside from the author's good intentions--the Hungarian leadership to become so angry all of the sudden. Lancranjan has committed high treason! In his book he unequivocally criticized Janos Kadar twice--albeit without mentioning him by name.

It is not difficult to draw the conclusion from the reply by the Hungarian press, radio and television. For more than 20 years, more than 2 million Hungarians have been deprived of their basic rights, and this is being tolerated by Hungary's supreme party and state leadership. But an unknown Romanian writer flips Kadar, and this is answered right away. It is a rethorical question: what is more important to them--the fate of 2 million Hungarians or Kadar's personal pride?

Something else that cannot be overlooked, if only because of the coincidence of time, happened in Hungary directly after the COUNTERPOINTS, the PROCLAMATION addressed to the Madrid conference, the arrest of the PROGRAM PROPOSAL's alleged editors/authors, and the PROCLAMATION of the 71 Budapest. The party's official paper, the NEPSZABADSAG published a lengthy article in the 11 December 1982, issue by Peter Renyi, deputy chief editor (actually chief editor, Kadar's right-hand man) against the Hungarian samizdat writers and against Gyorgy Konrad personally. The tone of the article is the kind that has not been used since the execution of Imre Nagy, et.al. It says that the Hungarian samizdat writers are backed--whether they want to or not--by "a huge arsenal and a great power, all of the West's anti-socialist and anti-Communist potentials and reserves with their economic, political, military and propaganda

apparatus"; thus the samizdat writers "are linked to major powers who, in their effort to expand their sphere of power, do not balk at causing serious damages to the peoples involved." It is hardly worth it to debate on who (let us say the NEPSZABADSAG) is backed by what power, which power is the one which is constantly expanding its sphere and causes serious damage to the peoples involved (let us say to the Afghans and the Poles, just to mention the most recent examples); the question under scrutiny is how grave are the accusations and how grave are the accusations and how grave are the potential consequences thereof in a dictatorial system, of "connections" with "imperialist centers" voiced in the NEPSZABADSAG's article. The gravity of the consequences are suggested, by the way, even by the title: "The Stakes are High".

That the stakes are high in the game--this is how the NEPSZABADSAG's article called it--is shown best by the fact that 3 days after the article's publication the police entered the apartment of Laszlo Rajk Jr., and took away the samizdat publications and copying machines found in his well-known and hardly secret "boutique", and took Laszlo Rajk Jr. and several other young intellectuals to police headquarters. *

Thus the Hungarian party and police are doing the same thing as the Romanian party and police: they all chase Hungarian samizdat writers. Peter Renyi, the Hungarian counterpart of Lancranjan has done the same thing as his colleague in Bucharest: with his article he set the stage for the persecution of Hungarians. Moreover, he did it against his own countrymen.

That this link is not arbitrary, is proven by those parts of Renyi's article in which he strikes out against signing petitions, collecting signatures and against protesters "against this or that", saying that "let everyone know that the various gestures disguised as humane or national are empowered by the efforts of the most obstinate anti-peace groups". Translated into Hungarian, humane gesture means the Fund for the Support of the Poor, [SZETA] national gesture means the 71 signatures in support of Transylvanian Hungarians which preceded "The Stakes Are High" by a mere 3 weeks. Thus trying to help the country's poor and supporting Hungarians persecuted in Transylvania is nothing else but serving the most obstinate anti-peace groups. We have come to this...

Kadar, Renyi, et. al. say the samizdat writers or "szetas's" i.e., people with different ideas, represent a miniscule minority in Hungary. Whether this is true or not could be determined only by free elections. But even if we suppose it is true, their persecution is nothing but persecution of minorities. How can we believe that those who persecute their own minorities within their own borders can sincerely support the Hungarian minorities outside of their borders? The minority persecutors of Budapest are not adversaries but accomplices of those in Bucharest.

* A week after that, on 21 December 1982, Laszlo Rajk's home was searched again. Kadar, who was Rakosi's minister of interior when Laszlo Rajk was arrested and executed and when Mrs Rajk was imprisoned, seems to take good care of the Rajks' only son as well.

What can be the reason for the hard line in Hungary?

Is it that the samizdat writers have become--especially among youth--too popular and influential?

Can the party leadership not tolerate that more and more people are telling them more and more openly about the poverty of hundreds of thousands of people in the model country of the "socialist camp" and about their helplessness in the cause of Hungarians in Transylvania--and let us add also in Upper Northern Hungary [slovakia]?

Do the party leaders want to use the turn of public attention toward Transylvanian to eliminate their own internal opposition?

Do they want to quiet the opposition because of the increasing economic difficulties on the threshold of even newer difficulties?

Has the Polish situation stuck in their craws too or is it the shades of the KOR and Solidarity that they cannot escape?

Are they bowing toward Andropov, the said "liberal" and "Hungarian friend", imitating the methods of the KGB's Andropov?

They know the answer--we can only guess.

At the most, we can see that they are nervous--just like Ceausescu and friends.

It is as if they were afraid!

It is as if they were being haunted in this deteriorating situation by the lesson of 1956: they are the ones who really are a minority.

Appeal to Madrid

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian No 1, 1983, p 4-5

[Text of Memorandum and Draft Program for change addressed to the CFCE Review Conference in Madrid written and signed by the editors of ELLENPONTOK (COUNTER-POINTS), dated Sep 82. ELLENPONTOK is a samizdat publication put out by ethnic Hungarians living in Transylvania, Romania.]

[Text] The Memorandum

A memorandum to the participants of the Madrid conference reviewing the observance of agreements of the Helsinki follow-up conference."

a. We are raising our voice before the nations of the countries represented at the Madrid conference in the interests of the survival of the approximately 2 million ethnic Hungarians living in Romania. Perhaps it is not too late to stop a process that, as a result of the Romanian Government's police, is menacing our existence.

b. Unprecedented efforts are being made to Romanianize Transylvania and suppress our culture. Romanians from the Transcarpathian regions are settled en masse in the purely or overwhelmingly Hungarian populated areas and localities, especially in the cities. According to official statistics, the numbers of our population are basically stagnating throughout the country. The use of the Hungarian language in the school system is gradually being reduced, and the state of our book and newspaper publishing is becoming increasingly disadvantageous. Our language has virtually been eliminated from public life. The tendency to isolate us from the rest of the Hungarians is becoming increasingly stronger. (Relations between Hungarians and Romanians are at a minimum in every area.)

c. The natural development of our sense of identity is being prevented by every means possible. New Hungarian generations are growing up in an atmosphere in which our values are underrated and in a chauvinistic atmosphere that propagates the superiority of Romanian history and culture, and they are unable to get to know their own ethnic group and the real history of Transylvania. The terror of the security agencies is the order of the day. If we raise our voice in the defense of our values it is we who are pronounced chauvinists. In practice, we live as second-rate citizens in Romania and our professional advancement is also limited by the fact that we are Hungarian. We have no possibility of self-protection. The individual is important against the tyranny of power, and we have no collective organization to protect our interests since the abolition of the Hungarian People's Association in 1949. Thus our situation is characterized not only by lack of individual rights but also by collective absence of rights, and in our case the two are inseparable.

d. The fact that international conventions do not take a stand over the collective rights of minorities deeply affects the prospects of any change in our situation. The way these problems are approached in international practice, an approach based exclusively on human rights, overlooks the traditional values--values that it fosters as a community in its collective personality and specific culture of a national minority. These values deserve special legal protection. While for the majority--because of a situation created by its preponderance and political power--the favorable means for protection of its specific values is naturally assured, for a minority to achieve the same it would need the opportunities provided by collective self-defense. Therefore any endeavor that wants to guarantee the minority's human rights without taking into consideration the collective nature of the latter inevitably delivers the minorities to the mercy of the majority. Taking all this into consideration, we believe that one substantial condition for changing our situation of legal deprivation would be that the international agreements emerging from the Madrid conference should stipulate our survival and thereby our human rights, ensuring the maintenance of our values as follows:

(1) From an ethnic and cultural point of view, we should be allowed to consider ourselves as an inseparable part of the Hungarian national ethnic body; equal rights should be granted to other Romanian minorities as well.

(2) We should be able to preserve our peculiarities and our collective values.

(3) In our opinion, these rights can be guaranteed only by establishing an impartial international commission that would investigate our situation, resolve the questions in dispute, and also have the right of control.

e. Attached to this memorandum is our proposed program in which we have attempted to outline our most important demands addressed to the Romanian Government in the interest of resolving our problems.

f. Signed Transylvania, September 1982, by the ELLENPONTON Samizdat Publication, editors whose anonymity is not only necessary but justified in a country where unexplained "accidents and disappearances" affect the members of the opposition.

The 10 Point Draft Program

The ELLENPONTOK editors draft 10-point program for changing the situation of ethnic Hungarians in Romania who are deprived of their rights. Hungarians in Transylvania, and in Romania in general, may today be experiencing the most serious danger ever to their existence. Their rights guaranteeing survival exist only on the surface and serve only to conceal real practice and fact, both of which are radically different from what is said in statements and ceremonial speeches. To a mentality suited to this kind of practice, a claim to any kind of right appears to be the most absurd of matters. Every natural demand takes the form of a request and is more-or-less clothed in submissive official pharaseology and justified by "principles" that happen to be current. The realization of any kind of request is unimaginable without the centralized support of some influential person, and it is always fulfilled with the benevolent gesture of a feudal lord rewarding one of his subjects for good behavior; in this case, the citizen is rewarded by the state rewarding the citizen and the Romanian state power over the minorities. Thus, the object of this patronizing gesture is, not the right of those making the request but the merit of the individual granting the favor. Numerous representatives of the minorities, including those of the Hungarians, have recognized that the situation described above is a fact. And, as adherents of real politics, they have had to choose the road of forced accommodation in trying to serve the offensive protection of their ethnic group in its own interest through an attitude of self-abasement. We appreciate the good intentions behind this practice. But the facts have convinced us that defense against authorities of any minority stripped of all its effective means is helpless and can be successful only to the point when it becomes a question of concessions absolutely necessary to the preservation of outward appearances. This behavior is also alien to our nature.

(A) Point I

Since it is our conviction that two ethnic groups can live next to each other or even with each other only if they relate to each other as equal partners, we demand for the Hungarians of Romania the freedom to make principled demands ensuring the protection of their rights and opportunities. We know very well that such a demand might seem untimely in a Romania where even those Hungarian cultural demands drafted in the required phraseology

are openly described as vindictive and revisionistic. This kind of attitude, however, in our opinion, is typical of the subordinate and only preserves a feudal relationship. It is also clear to us that the conditions in Eastern Europe as a whole are alien to the possibility of assuring such demands. Our situation, which is worsening every day, forces us to act because we cannot allow ourselves the luxury of hoping for a miracle in changing these conditions.

(B) Point II and Its 18 Sub-points

We demand to be considered an indissoluble part of the entire Hungarian ethnic body and on this basis and in our capacity as Romanian citizens we should be allowed to cultivate our ties with the Hungarian People's Republic, both on an institutional and personal level without any interference. Every Romanian citizen should be allowed to travel to the Hungarian People's Republic without restrictions. The decree that forbids our foreign friends from staying overnight in our homes should be withdrawn; this decree hurts us Hungarians most of all. Our cultural institutions, as well as the Hungarian cultural groups active within these institutions, should be able to freely invite Hungarian ensembles and personalities from the neighboring countries. Until the Hungarian universities in Transylvania are restored, those Hungarian students who have Romanian citizenship should be given employment appropriate to the qualifications they received through their Hungarian studies. The Romanian customs security police practice of confiscating Hungarian cultural products, on the basis of arbitrary judgments, should be stopped. The possibility of receiving Budapest TV programs should be extended to the entire area of Transylvania with the help of relay stations. It should be ensured that the Hungarian books published in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Ukraine are also made available in Romania. It should be possible to subscribe without restrictions to newspapers and periodicals published in Hungarian. The publications ordered for us in Hungary should reach their Romanian addresses. In addition:

1. The natural interest and rightful concern of cultural and political personalities in Hungary about the fate of Romanian Hungarians should not be regarded as interference in Romanian internal affairs.
2. We demand that the institutionalized self-protection and cultural autonomy of the Hungarians of Romanian ethnic community be ensured.
3. As a supplement to Article 22, the Romanian constitution should include the nationalities right to establish an association for the protection of their interests, the officials of which should be elected by democratic methods.
4. This association should have the right to guide Hungarians cultural activities and school police, to control cadre policy pertaining to Hungarian affairs, to take care of public monuments pertaining to Hungarian past, and to look for remedies to national grievances.
5. All Hungarians in Romania should be able to become members of this interest-protecting association, regardless of where they reside.
6. The history of Hungarians who had served prison terms should be reviewed and all those who were sentenced in the last 35 years for defending Hungarian interest should be publicly rehabilitated and their sentences annulled.
7. The fact that our culture is an integral part of Hungarian culture and not only a branch of Romanian culture should be officially recognized.
8. Special national education departments should be created within the Ministry of Education and with the framework of the country school inspectorates; they should operate under equal terms with the

corresponding Romanian departments. 9. Hungarian language kindergartens and schools should be restored and should potentially ensure the placement of every Hungarian speaking child in mother tongue kindergarten and his or her opportunity to learn in his/her own mother tongue. Secondary education in the mother tongue and the possibility of training for all professions in the mother tongue should be guaranteed in every Hungarian inhabited county. 10. Hungarian orphanages and special schools should be established, thus discontinuing the practice of placing Hungarian orphans and handicapped children in appropriate Romanian institutions as one means of Romanianizing them. 11. The portion of Law 6/1969 covering the status of the teaching staff should be enforced according to it, the teachers who have no knowledge or only a little of the Hungarian language cannot teach in Hungarian classes. 12. The compulsory number of students in a class should be reduced so that Hungarian village schools are not closed down. The Yugoslavian nationality law, whereby a school must be set up for nine pupils, should prevail as in applicable example in our case also. In this respect, the same yardstick should be used for Hungarian and Romanian children. 13. The Hungarian schools should also teach the history and geography of Romania in the Hungarian language. 14. The Hungarian universities should be reestablished, and Hungarian language higher-grade institutes should be set up in every professional field. 15. The range of the activities of the KRITERION nationality book publishing firm should be expanded, and its financial base should be enlarged to enable it to publish in the minority language not presently catered by other publishers. 16. The Hungarian language press and radio and TV programs should be permitted to analyze the topical and essential nationality problems of the Hungarians of Romania. 17. The Romanian authorities should finally put an end to their practice of treating Hungarian intellectuals as suspicious elements, and to their constant surveillance and harassment by the security agencies simply because they are Hungarians. 18. Religious freedom and a truly inner autonomy of the Hungarian churches should in fact be assured.

(C) Point III

We demand self-administration for the regions overwhelmingly populated by Hungarians and our equitable share in the leadership of the country. The "Szekely" (a designation used for the Hungarians in eastern Transylvania) land should regain its autonomy, this time a genuine one extending over its entire territory. The practice of having the pure or overwhelmingly Hungarian populated villages administered by Romanians who act as council chairman, agricultural cooperative chairman, party secretary, and policemen, etc., should be discontinued. Hungarians should be given proportional representation not only among parliamentary representatives and party members but also in economic management, at every level of the party leadership and also in the government.

(D) Point IV

We demand an immediate end to the artificial alteration of the ethnic composition of Transylvania--in the wider sense that is to say historical Transylvania the Partium and the Banat. "Partium" designates the counties of Zarand and Miskolc Kraszna and the area of Koevar which were part of Hungary and in the 16th and 17th centuries became the possessions of the rulers of Transylvania without being annexed to it. They were returned to Hungary in 1693, broken up

again in 1733, and finally in 1977 divided between the various counties of Hungary and Transylvania. The massive and forced colonization from Moloavia and Wallachia should stop. The experiences to change Hungarian villages into ones with mixed population should cease. The practice of forcibly transferring newly graduated white collar workers, mainly doctors and engineers, to Moloavia and Wallachia should be discontinued.

(E) Point V

We demand the possibility to form and develop the Hungarian identity of the Magyars living in Romania. In relation to their past, Hungarian students should have the opportunity to become acquainted at school with the real history of their ethnic group and Romanian students as well should be given at least a broad outline of this history. The history of Transylvania should be discussed in an objective manner in publications dealing with history. Exhibition material in museums should not attempt to conceal or play down the role of the Magyars in the past or their presence in today's Romania. The ideological function of the theory of Daco-Romanian continuity should cease. This theory should remain what it really is, namely an historical hypothesis. Interest in Transylvania's history and cultural history should not be regarded as a demonstration of revisionistic tendencies. There should be no prohibited themes for specialists dealing with the history of Transylvania. In relation to the present, detailed statistical data on the present situation of the nationalities should be made available to the public. Anyone should be free to carry out sociological nationality surveys. The SCTY agencies should not harass those who pursue such interests. The schools, regardless of the language instruction, should acquaint all students with the conditions and culture of the nationalities living in the country. Books dealing with the life, folklore, and art, etc., of the nationalities living here should also be published in the Romanian language. Adequate regulations should be enforced against the chauvinistic manifestations affecting Hungarians judging identically, for example, the nickname "Bozgor" (Romanian nickname given to Hungarians which is similar to the terms "Hunkie" and "Homeless") with the expression "Olah" (a slightly derogatory name in Hungarian for the Romanians).

(F) Point VI

We demand co-equality of the Hungarian language with the Romanian in the official and everyday usage in every region of Transylvania--in the wider sense--inhabited by Hungarians. Hungarian should actually be spoken in the offices of the various authorities, and petitions written in that language should be accepted, as directed by Article 22 of the constitution. Identity cards, passports, and standard forms should be printed bilingually. In these regions, persons employed in public health, trade, and public SVC [security police] should also know the Hungarian language. The teaching of the Hungarian language should be made compulsory also in the Romanian language schools located in areas populated by Hungarians. (During the Horthy regime, the Romanian language was a compulsory subject for Hungarian school children in northern Transylvania.) In these regions the names of localities and streets and the signs in shops, museums, enterprises, and public institutions and on merchandise etc., should appear in both the Romanian and Hungarian languages.

(G) Point VII

We demand that Hungarians living in Romania have career opportunities equal with the Romanians. The practice in professional advancement and in job employment that not professional competence but primarily the ethnic background is taken into consideration should cease. Very often even in regions where the Hungarians are in a majority only a certain number sufficient for statistical show of equal rights and in accordance with national ratio, are employed.

(H) Point VIII

We demand the preservation of an environment linked to our historical and cultural past. The traditional character of the Transylvania towns should remain intact. The demolition of buildings of historical or cultural significance should cease. All noteworthy objects should be declared historical monuments and should be discontinued. A fund should be set up to save decaying historical monuments.

(I) Point IX

We demand that those "Csangos" (a designation used for those Hungarians living in Moldavia and Bucovina) who still speak their Hungarian mother tongue be able to declare themselves Hungarians and become engaged in Hungarian cultural life, in contrast to the present statistical practice which regards this entire group as being Romanians. They should be able to join organizations protecting the interests of the Hungarian nationality. They should be able to use their mother tongue freely, mother-tongue schools should be reestablished. They should have the right to choose the language of their religion. An end should be put to the isolation of the Csangos, to attempt to prevent them from making contact with other Hungarians, and to the expulsion of visitors in Csango villages.

(J) Point X

We demand that an impartial international committee, including Hungarians and Romanians as well, examine our situation and decide every contentious question concerning our fate.

(3) Addendum

All the foregoing which has been drafted in the interest of the 2 million Hungarians in Romania gives only a partial cross section of the country's problems affecting the Hungarians, and even these are sketchy and incomplete. We are aware of the fact that their solution cannot be separated from the web of questions of general interests. Our task, above all, was to draft them, since no one else will do it for us. The principle responsibility for broaching common problems openly lies not only and primarily with us but above all with the Romanians. Nevertheless, we do not believe our action to be hasty. The wall of silence should be broken at last somewhere from inside, together

with the seemingly immobile and unmovable bloc of illegality and absolutism which weighs like a nightmare on every inhabitant of Romania, with the exception of profiteers, and which in the final analysis is the reason for the country's overall catastrophic situation. In this respect, we are convinced that our draft program which might appear to "some" to be directed against the Romanians in reality takes account of their interest as well, since the guarantee of equal rights would also preface expanding their own rights.

Letter to Hungarian Authorities

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian No 1, 1983 p 5

[Text of open letter addressed to Gyorgy Lazar, premier of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, to the Hungarian Writers' Association, and to the Hungarian PEN Club signed by 71 Hungarian intellectuals to protest the arrest and mistreatment of several ethnic Hungarians in November 1982 living in Romania.]

[Text] Seventy-one Hungarian intellectuals wrote and sent the following Proclamation to Gyorgy Lazar, prime minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, to the Hungarian Writers' Association and to the Hungarian PEN Club:

Proclamation

On 6 and 7 November 1982, organs of the Romanian state security arrested several young Transylvanian Hungarian intellectuals. Their homes were searched, and documents dealing with the political situation in Hungary and Transylvania were confiscated.

The number of arrested persons is unknown for the time being. We know of the following persons by name: writer Attila Ara-Kovacs, actor Attila Kertesz, poet, Geza Szocs and Professor Karoly Toth. Several of them were questioned during the course of the week. Among them were agronomist Lorant Kertesz and his wife, Eva Kertesz, Marta Jozsa, Eva Biro as well as philosophy student Andras Keszthelyi and Mrs Karoly Toth.

Some of them, including Geza Szocs, Karoly Toth and his wife, were seriously abused.

Attila Ara-Kovacs and Karoly Toth were released after a few days on the condition that they not leave their hometown, Nagyvarad.

To date we do not know the whereabouts of Geza Szocs, an outstanding poet known in the entire area populated by Hungarians. His whereabouts are not known even to his closest relatives and friends. We suspect that the political police has not released him to date. We are calling on everyone to protest against the action of the Romanian authorities. We also call on our friends in Romania to do something about the release of Geza Szocs. We demand the release of those still detained and the cessation of police harassment.

Budapest, 20 November 1982

1. Margit Ats, author
2. Bela Bacso, aestethician
3. Istvan Bakos, science planner
4. Andras Balczo, olympic and world pentathlon champion
5. Miklos Beladi, literary historian
6. Kalman Benda, historian
7. Mihaly Benedek, editor
8. Gyorgy Berkovits, writer
9. Eva Bognar, economist
10. Szabolcs Bognar, lawyer
11. Tibor Cseres, writer
12. Sandor Csoori, writer
13. Gabor Czako, writer
14. Gabor Demszky, sociologist
15. Matyas Domonkos, literary historian
16. Zoltan Enrdreffy, philosopher
17. Aagnes Erdelyi, philosophic historican
18. Judit Gstidl, translator
19. Gyongyi Gellert, editor
20. Peter Hanak, historian
21. Endre Hann, sociologist
22. Miklos Haraszti, writer
23. Miklos Jansco, film director
24. Andras Kardos, critic
25. Zsuzsa Kartar, poet
26. Janos Tamas Katona, philospher
27. Janos Kis, philosopher
28. Ferenc Kiss, literary historian
29. Zoltan Kocsis, pianist
30. Gyula Kodolanyi, poet
31. Fernec Kosa, film director
32. Istvan Kovats, poet
33. Csaba Konczol, critic
34. Ferenc Koszeg, critic
35. Gyorgy Krasso, economist
36. Zsolt Krokovay, philosopher
37. Andras Lanyi, film director
38. Sandor Lukacsy, literary historian
39. Balint Nagy, architect
40. Maria Papp, linguist
41. Karoly Makk, film director
42. Livia Matis, editor
43. Miklos Meszoly, writer
44. Gabor Nemeth, reporter
45. Ambrus Oltvanyi, literary historian
46. Gyorgy Petri, poet
47. Katalin Petho, physician
48. Bela Pomogats, literary historian
49. Sandor Radnoti, critic
50. Laszlo Rajk, architect
51. Sandor Rajki, academician

52. Pal Rez, literary historian
53. Ferenc Santha, writer
54. Sandor Sara, film director
55. Imre Sinkovits, actor
56. Vilmos Soos, philosopher
57. Kornel Steiger, philosophic historican
58. Pal Szalai, public writer
59. Sandor Szilagyi, critic
60. Laszlo Szorenyi, literary historian
61. Gaspar Miklos Tamas, philosophic author
62. Gyorgy Tator, editor
63. Zador Tordai, philosopher
64. Mihaly Vajda, philosopher
65. Imre Varga, sculptor
66. Janos Varga, biologist
67. Maria Vasarhelyi, sociologist
68. Miklos Vasarhelyi, historican
69. Karoly Vigh, historian
70. Anna Wesszely, art historian
71. Jozsef Zelnik, sociologist

9474
CSO: 2500/175

ADMIRAL DOBREV COMMENTS ON U.S., NATO ACTIVITIES IN MEDITERRANEAN

Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 13 Mar 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Admiral Ivan Dobrev, deputy minister of national defense: The Mediterranean in the Aggressive Plans of the United States and NATO"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] When we speak of the Mediterranean, we have in mind all the seas in its basin and the 21 states situated on their littoral, whose existence and interests are linked with the sea routes running to the interior of Europe, Asia and the Middle East.

After World War II the situation in the Mediterranean changed radically. Socialist states appeared in the Balkan peninsula and as a result of the collapse of the colonial system no colonies except Gibraltar remained on the Mediterranean coast.

/The economic significance of the Mediterranean/ today is determined by the fact that along its coast are situated the countries of North Africa and the Near East where are concentrated more than two-thirds of the proved reserves of crude oil and more than one-quarter of the natural gas of the capitalist and developing countries.

The most important sea routes in the world traverse the Mediterranean with principal hubs in the Strait of Gibraltar, the Strait of Tunis and the Suez Canal. In the Mediterranean itself more than 1500 ocean-going ships and about 5000 smaller vessels are in transit every day.

For the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania the sole communication route with the world's oceans and markets passes through the Black Sea straits and the Aegean Sea.

For the plans of the NATO strategists this is the most convenient region from which to use strategic weapons against the southern areas of the USSR.

The ruling circles of the United States and their NATO partners have set themselves the firmly fixed goal of achieving military superiority over the USSR. They are striving to achieve this superiority in the Mediterranean region, too. They call this region the South European Theater of Military Operations, in which the command of the allied forces of the NATO bloc has been set up. The

NATO "zone of responsibility" in this region includes the territory of Italy, Greece, Turkey, the Mediterranean with all its islands, the Black Sea straits and the southern portion of the Black Sea. Together with the countries of this "zone," the United States and England are part of the NATO-member countries and of the YuETVD [Yuzhnoevropeyski teatur na voennite deystviya; South European Theater of Military Operations]. The staff of the South European Theater of Combat Operations, as a rule, is headed up by an American admiral and is stationed in Naples.

A favorite brainchild of the Pentagon leaders is "the fast reaction corps," units of which are positioned in the Sinai.

The United States, which is spending huge sums to maintain its armed forces in the Mediterranean region, has turned its NATO allies (Italy, Greece and Turkey, and now Spain as well) into a beachhead from which to launch its aggression against the socialist camp and especially against the USSR. For this purpose numerous military, naval and air bases have been established in these countries, and the troops, weapons and equipment situated there, which are maintained in constant combat readiness for action, are continuously increasing. To compensate for the breach in its strategic position in the Persian Gulf, the United States has intensified its attention towards bolstering its position in Turkey and towards its other allies in the region.

The U.S. military bases, military equipment and nuclear ammunition depots in Italy are an important link in the chain of Mediterranean bases.

On Greek territory, in addition to numerous military bases, facilities and other installations, the United States has nuclear ammunition depots, too. Reconnaissance centers and bases for submarines and surface ships of the United States and NATO have been established here.

Turkey has always been an important route in the endeavors of the United States to get closer to the approaches to the Balkan peninsula and the southern regions of the USSR.

As former commander-in-chief of the NATO allied force in the YuETVD, Admiral Harold Shear, smugly observes, Eastern Thrace and especially "the Turkish peninsula to the east, by virtue of circumstances, is the only one of the two regions in the NATO zone that has a common border with the USSR. The Soviet-Turkish border, which is over 400 km long, passes considerably to the east of Moscow." With the cooperation of the Turkish authorities, imbued with anti-Sovietism, what more favorable situation could there be for building bases for aggression! There are dozens of radio-intelligence, radio-intercept and radio-communication posts and centers operating here, aimed mainly against the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The territory of Turkey is also scheduled to be an intermediate base in the event of a lift of the U.S. fast reaction forces.

The NATO allied forces in the South European Theater of Military Operations number in all more than 60 divisions, scattered brigades, several major units

of tactical aviation and over 500 nuclear weapons carriers. The allied naval forces of the aggressive bloc in this region number about 500 fighting ships, as well as over 400 carrier- and land-based patrol aircraft.

Admiral H. Shear sees /the basic directions of operation/ by the NATO allied forces against the socialist camp in three main directions:

--Operation from Italy via Austria and over the Gorizia Pass between Italy and Yugoslavia, still known as "the Barbarian Gate";

--Operation in the Balkan strategic direction from Northern Greece and Turkish Thrace. Numerous annual strategic exercises, with the participation of amphibious landing units and the disembarkation of naval landing forces on the shores of the Gulf of Strimon (Gulf of Struma) and the Gulf of Saros, indicate very eloquently the aggressor's intentions;

--Operation from Turkish territory against the USSR.

But, taking into account the geographic features and the significance of the South European Theater of Military Operations, the NATO command makes the success of military operations depend primarily on the operations of naval forces.

On 28 December 1982 in Long Beach, California President Reagan at a ceremony on the occasion of the commissioning for the fourth time of the old battleship "New Jersey," once more demothballed and rebuilt, declared pathetically, "Superiority in the world seas and oceans is a necessity for us. We must have superiority over the air space and over the world seas on their surface and below so as to assure access to all the oceans in the world." The modernization of the "New Jersey" cost the American taxpayers \$326 million. This "resolution" of the Reagan administration "to reestablish the might of the American navy" prompted him to propose his 5-year program of combat-ship construction and /the strengthening of the United States' overall "offensive might."/ The American press called this program "Reagannavy." It targets the building before 1987 of 130 combat ships, including nuclear-powered ships, aircraft carriers, submarines of the "Ohio" class with Trident missile system, missile-carrying cruisers etc.

Naval forces are the most versatile and mobile branch of the service and are capable of performing the most diverse missions, including both a demonstration of force and a military presence in peacetime.

Considering the increased role and significance of the navy and air force in the implementation of a "realistic threat" strategy, the military theoreticians of the United States have created an "ocean strategy" also as a component thereof that requires the creation of a navy capable of winning supremacy at sea and of being in a position to fight a battle from the sea against the land by means of missile-launching nuclear-powered submarines and aircraft-carrier strike forces.

/The NATO naval strike forces/ of the YuETVD are constructed on the basis of the U.S. Sixth Fleet which, in the expression of its commanding Vice Admiral

William Small, is regarded "as one of the best achievements of American global policy." The U.S. 16th Squadron of nuclear-powered submarines is also part of the NATO naval strike forces.

Ships of the Italian and English navies are also attached to the strike forces.

In wartime the commander of the U.S. Sixth Fleet becomes commander of the NATO naval strike forces, ceasing to be subordinated to the commander of the U.S. Navy in the European zone (headquartered in London) and resubordinated to the commander-in-chief of the NATO allied forces in the South European Theater of Military Operations (also an American admiral).

The U.S. Sixth Fleet--this policeman of imperialism in the Mediterranean region--normally includes about 45 ships, among them 1-2 aircraft carriers (with 85-170 aircraft, half of them carrying nuclear weapons), 1-2 missile-carrying cruisers, up to 20 destroyers and frigates, several nuclear-powered submarines, landing ships and auxiliary vessels, and aircraft of land-based patrol aviation. It is manned with personnel according to wartime tables of organization and has a strength of about 25,000, including 1800-2000 marines.

As a result of the U.S. expansionist policy in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, the zone of action of the Sixth Fleet aircraft-carrier forces includes these regions too, with unimpeded passage through the Suez Canal. Organizationally, the forces and resources of the Sixth North American Fleet have been reduced to eight strategic units. The principal logistical support points for ships of the Sixth Fleet are naval bases and harbors in Italy, Greece, Turkey and Spain. The forces of the Sixth Fleet conduct active combat training which is of a clearly marked anti-Soviet, antisocialist character.

In these training exercises, plans are rehearsed for the use of naval strike forces to invade the Balkan peninsula in wartime. Maneuvers of the Sixth Fleet are systematically conducted jointly with the ships of the navies of Italy, England, France, Turkey and other countries. The bulk of the missions assigned to the naval strike forces was rehearsed in especially full scope in 1981-1982 in the "Dawn Patrol" and "Display Determination" exercises.

The situation in the Eastern Mediterranean is unsettled. The conduct of the imperialists is becoming increasingly brutal. The ruling circles in the United States and their NATO partners categorically evade giving an answer to the peaceful proposals of the countries participating in the Warsaw Pact and to the numerous initiatives of the Soviet Union.

But our Warsaw Pact has the wherewithal to curb the aggressor, including in the Mediterranean. As the minister of defense of the Soviet Union, Marshal Ustinov, declared in his speech in Murmansk on 9 March, ". . . Our nerves are strong and our strength is sufficient, too." The strength and reserves of peace are not exhausted. As a Balkan state, the Bulgarian People's Republic attaches exceptional importance to what is happening near the Balkans. And as Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared from the rostrum of the 12th BCP Congress, "The Bulgarian People's Republic will continue its foreign policy of doing everything necessary to strengthen peace and understanding, trust and friendship, and to cultivate cooperation with all Balkan countries and peoples."

6474

CSO: 2200/61

BULGARIA

TRIBUTE TO LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA'S PATRIOTISM

Sofia SPISANIE NA BULGARSKATA AKADEMIYA NA NAUKITE in Bulgarian No 6, 1982
pp 48-54

[Article by Academician Panteley Zarev: "Champion of Bulgarian Cultural Upsurge"]

[Excerpt] I can still see, as I did during our talks, the slim straight profile which seemed to grow taller in its spiritual uplift. A tender, fine, pale profile, lit up by fire and inspiration.

Her body was fragile and weak. But she put the spirit above the body, and I was frequently amazed at how little she ate, how little she cared for the physical upkeep of the body and how strong was her faith in the spirit -- a spirit which develops and grows, which boldly overcomes fatigue and rules the body.

Let me add that Lyudmila Zhivkova emerged clearly as a great patriot and that her actions were always motivated by the great objective: Bulgaria to stand up in the eyes of the world and to prove itself. As member of the National Anniversary Committee for the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state, I witnessed the respect, the veneration which Lyudmila Zhivkova felt for our past. Our history had a particular philosophical value to her. She understood the spirit of struggle and striving for advancements which filled it. She responded to our history the way she responded to art or to music which fill the soul with rapture.

I knew that she had had more than a couple of clashes with nihilistic ideas, with a denial of our past or a thoughtless attitude toward it.

I unwittingly think that she was a child of our history, like many historical figures in the past. She had the type of Bulgarian character which is ready for a great and supreme sacrifice. She shared in the traditions of the national Bulgarian character pulsating with love for our land, and aspiration toward an ideal and progress, combined with a spirit of sacrifice. Everything in her was contemporary but also reflecting the great traditions of the past and the beautiful inspiration to serve the people, our people in particular.

It is thus that Lyudmila Zhivkova was engaged in the battle for our present and future and the transfigurations of the contemporary civilization which our

people are creating with such daring and indescribable self-denial. I would say that both the heroics and self-denial of our people, praised in our folklore, were typical of her. They were part of her essence, as was her daring to seek, discover and rediscover, so that she may offer spiritual gifts to herself and to others. She left behind memories of a Bulgarian spiritual greatness which will continue to be reflected in the minds and hearts of those who got to know her and who fought in her ranks and her battles.

It is because of all this that we shall be returning again and again to Lyudmila Zhivkova's cause and to her importance to our spiritual and political life, not only for the sake of drawing out of our memories all that she gave us and preserve the memory of her personality for the sake of future generations but also for retaining for ourselves the vital parts of her work and her ideas which link us to the miracle of renovation and the efforts of progress. Her books and other works deserve to be reread again and again by those who can interpret them profoundly. Allow me to mention that the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is preparing a bibliographic edition of her works in which, with the help of brief annotations, the greatness of her legacy will be partially or fully interpreted. Again and again we shall go back to her ideas as models of aspiration for evolution, renovation, change and advancement, which enhance higher and higher the mind and the individuality climbing the ladder of knowledge and the practice of maintaining an active attitude toward the world. In the years to come, close or distant, Lyudmila Zhivkova will be present in our many-sided cultural and political life and will continue to make her contribution to its development and enrichment.

5003

CSO: 2200/69

INTERVIEW WITH FORMER DUBCEK AIDE

PM132245 Paris LE MATIN in French 11 Apr 83 p 12

[Interview with Jiri Hajek, former Czechoslovak foreign minister and member of Charter 77, by Antoine Spire "near Prague" 4 April]

[Excerpt] Antoine Spire: What is the situation in the country today?

Jiri Hajek: Not very good. In the economic sphere it is possible to talk of stagnation or even recession. In any case the authorities have very little grip on the country. Of course, the police are omnipresent, but all appeals for mobilization fall on deaf ears.

Antoine Spire: Are Andropov's accession to power in the USSR and the changes which seem to be taking shape there already having an effect here?

Jiri Hajek: Andropov has a great deal to do at home and in other parts of the Soviet bloc where the situation is much more urgent than in Czechoslovakia. In any case, although he seems to want to reform the empire, it is as a pragmatist and certainly not as a democrat. Our leaders are trying to persuade Moscow that everything is fine but they are not very effective in that either. The Soviets know what the position, is and the line taken by the new Andropov leadership will certainly have an influence in our country.

The Soviet campaign against corruption is already being copied, but in our country it is only the small fry who are being punished. The big fish are continuing to line their pockets with impunity. In Bratislava a pharmaceutical factory has just been discovered producing large quantities of heroin for export to the West. There is talk of customs officers being punished and minor bosses arrested. That is all for the time being.

Some sections of the Czechoslovak bureaucracy even accuse Andropov of Khrushchevism or even Dubcekism. That is an exaggeration to say the least, but it is indicative of the conflicts affecting the party apparatus, about which there is great speculation in Prague. Politburo member Hula has just died. Is government chief Strougel going to impose his candidate against Bilak, the man who still supports Chernenko? Strougel has just delivered a speech in the Federal Assembly which advocates Andropov-style pragmatism: he talks of greater respect for economic logic, a cut in subsidies to loss-making sectors and increased responsibility for enterprise chiefs.

In face of this the administration's hackles are rising and it hopes that these reformist leanings will not last, but the situation requires infinitely more changes. The economic reform which is necessary can only be implemented in the framework of a process of democratization for which neither side is ready. So life continues with this incredible waste of our economic, but also our intellectual, potential.

Antoine Spire: What about the opposition movement; how is Charter 77 and the Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Persecuted People Surviving? What effect did the Polish coup have here?

Jiri Hajek: The Polish failure affected the Charter's supporters rather than the opposition itself. The tendency of many citizens to withdraw exclusively into their private sphere increased further. As for those of us who had hoped for a compromise without too many illusions, we once again verified that there are limits beyond which the Soviet empire forbids us to go.

Many of us are weary, it is not that we are giving up, but this battle in opposition for the past 15 years has been hard. You know that Vladislav Lis was arrested a few weeks ago and is accused of helping found an independent peace movement. For good measure he was also charged with a ridiculous theft of two sacks of corn. I do not know whether the corn laid in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Paris by the committees working with Artur London for freedom in Czechoslovakia had some influence, but this charge against him has now been withdrawn. Peter Uhl is still in prison and still has 14 months to serve. Benda still has 2 months to serve, and many others could be cited. At present the repression is affecting the Catholics in particular. The Franciscans, of whom there are many in Slovakia, are being persecuted at present because the government is afraid of contagion from Poland.

As for the Czechoslovak population, they are losing their political involvement because they believe they have no power to change things. They indulge in ritual provided it is not too demanding: they march on 1 May (some people even call that demonstration "the march of existence"), take part in some meetings during working hours and are nominal members of a socialist labor team. But real collective movements are disappearing; it is possible to talk of an atomization of civilian society. Everybody is staying at home and waiting. That does not rule out sympathy for the Charter, but it is an uncommitted sympathy. It is a positive neutrality.

CSO: 3519/442

TU REPORT CRITICAL OF CONTINUED PROBLEMS OF WORKERS

Prague PRACE in Czech 23 Mar 83 supplement pp 1-20

[Report of the Central Council of Trade Unions Presidium, presented by Jirina Vesela, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, at its 4th plenary session, on 22 March 1983]

[Text] The Presidium hereby presents to the 4th plenary session of the Central Council of Trade Unions its report on the state of care for the workers' working and living conditions. The report ties in with the session held in December of last years, at which we considered the trade unions' role in securing the national economic plan in 1983, the objectives of which were specified at the 7th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. Fulfillment of the tasks of the 7th Five-Year Plan's third year and the creation of material values are a prerequisite for the more secure livelihood of the working class and other working strata. In accordance with their closely related dual role, the trade unions' care for the workers is inseparably connected with participation in the successful realization of the economic and social program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and of the 7th Five-Year Plan.

We are discussing these questions soon after commemorating the victorious struggle of the Czechoslovak CP, the revolutionary trade unions, and of the revived National Front, in February of 1948, and the great work of building socialism that Czechoslovakia's working people performed during the past 35 years under the party's leadership. Binding are the words that Comrade Gustav Husak, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and the president of the republic, said at the ceremonial meeting commemorating the anniversary of February:

"Our main attention, however, belongs to the tasks of today and tomorrow. This means first of all that we must concentrate all our efforts on realizing the general policy formulated by the 14th CPCZ Congress and developed by the 15th and 16th congresses. This is a policy that ensures continuity of the party and people's revolutionary struggle, based on the creative application and development of Marxism-Leninism and responding to the new requirements of the times."

Nearly three years have elapsed since the 16th CPCZ Congress, which again emphasized that man's welfare was the highest purpose of our efforts. It will soon be a year that the 10th Congress of Trade Unions adopted the conclusions of the 16th party congress as the firm foundation of the revolutionary trade-union movement's activity, with the firm determination to energetically realize them, and thereby to serve honestly and consistently the cause of the working

class and of all workers. Even though not much time has elapsed since our last congress, it is already evident how we are carrying out our determination, also in the area that is one of the basic functions of the socialist trade unions.

We are aware that we are striving to perfect care for the workers' working and living conditions at a time that is especially demanding for all aspects of trade-union activity, when first of all we must implement even more decisively a policy of the high effectiveness and intensification of production, so as to minimize the impact of the capitalist economy's crisis on our national economy. In this significantly more complex economic situation also the task becomes more demanding of maintaining a high standard of living and of solving the problems that concern care for the workers. But for this very reason, as the 10th congress emphasized, we must not relax our efforts in any way. To the contrary, we are obliged to concern ourselves more thoroughly with these questions. We must constantly bear in mind that honest and hard work is the only source of wealth for socialist society and its citizens. To satisfy the needs of society, to maintain the living standard and provide secure livelihood, and to develop comprehensively care for the workers requires that we address even more energetically the existing shortcomings, strengthen labor discipline, combat inferior workmanship, diseconomies and convenience and routine in technical and economic thinking, increase the workers' participation in management, and see to it that order, efficient work organization and exact fulfillment of the tasks become a natural requirement everywhere.

The results of last year, when we were able to achieve moderate growth in production and to fulfill also certain other economic objectives, confirm our conviction that if we work even better, more effectively and with better results, we will be able to master even the more demanding conditions of the present stage.

--By placing the problems of perfecting care for the workers' working and living conditions on the agenda of the plenary session of the Central Council of Trade Unions, we are simultaneously emphasizing that the trade unions are not relaxing their attention to the workers' needs even under the complex conditions of building socialism. The requirement that trade-union activity must be comprehensive and balanced means that, parallel with our greater coresponsibility for the increase of production, we must purposefully see to it that the working and living conditions of the people improve in the plants and at home. As domestic and foreign experience confirms, this requirement is now even more urgent than in years past.

--In accordance with the conclusions of the 10th Congress of Trade Unions, today's plenary session is a continuation of the results we achieved during the long years of care for the workers since the formation of the unified revolutionary trade-union movement. The 8th Congress of Trade Unions imparted a programmed nature to this policy. This program approach includes the pronounced role of the trade unions in formulating and implementing the social program of the party and of the socialist state, and also the increasing participation of the trade-union organs and organizations in intensifying care for the living conditions of the collectives at the enterprise and plant level, as well as the trade unions' daily concern for the needs of individual workers, for the solution of their problems and the defense of their legal rights.

If we evaluate from this point of view the results of the past 10 to 12 years and the activity of the trade unions, we have before us a rich balance sheet

of a sharp rise in the Czechoslovak workers' living standard, and an extensive picture of trade-union participation in solving the decisive questions of care for the workers.

By its standpoints, initiative and suggestions, the Central Council of Trade Unions actively participated in setting the basic directions of social development under the 5th, 6th and 7th Five-Year Plans, and in the important decisions of the party and government for implementing the social program of the 14th and 15th CPCZ Congresses. Czechoslovak resources, generated through the rise of national income, have made possible important social-policy measures that affect wide strata of the workers and other citizens.

Work the Source of Wealth

Let us recall once again what the policy of the CPCZ and socialist state, and the revolutionary trade-union movement's participation in the implementation of this policy have meant for providing a more secure livelihood and social benefits for our people. Already in the early 1970's, basic measures were adopted to aid newlyweds and families with children. At the beginning of the 6th Five-Year Plan, the system of retirement income was overhauled extensively, including the raising of the lowest pensions and of the upper limit of retirement income. This overhaul increased the incomes of more than three million citizens. Subsequently pensions were modified two more times, the last time in conjunction with the economically necessary increase in the price of meat. In the course of this, special attention was devoted to the needs of the citizens with small pensions. In the interest of families with children, the allowances for children, maternity allowances, and aid to families with a disabled child were increased.

A series of measures led to perfecting the system of health insurance. Financial provisions for apprentices and students were increased, the conditions for receiving maternity pay were improved, and the provisions that limited to one-half the sick pay of persons under institutional care who had no families were abolished. As of last year, sick pay for miners has been increased substantially, and in the most difficult selected occupations within the mining industry the number of years required to be eligible for the highest pension was reduced.

The population's social income from sick pay and pensions increased from 48 billion korunas in 1973 to more than 75 billion in 1982. A substantial proportion of the total expenditure on health insurance was for spa care, which about 250,000 workers receive each year. Such achievements as the retirement age (for which the trade unions in many capitalist countries are fighting in vain), allowances for children, maternity allowances, free medical care, free education, the length of paid leave, and other social benefits are now regarded as normal in socialist Czechoslovakia.

The level of health care at the plants and in large cities, and the continuous supply of the population with medicine and health-care products have been in the center of the joint interest of the party, state and trade-union organs.

Close attention has been devoted also to housing construction, which has improved significantly the living conditions of individual groups of workers, especially those of young families and families with several children.

--Housing construction under the 5th and 6th Five-Year Plans totaled 1,261,000 housing units so that during the past 10 years practically every fourth family was able to move into a new housing unit. More than 195,000 housing units have been commissioned during the first two years of the 7th Five-Year Plan.

--With their suggestions and active participation, and primarily by pooling social and trade-union resources, the trade unions contributed to the rapid development of facilities for children of preschool age. From 1973 through 1982, the capacity of such facilities increased by more than 80 percent.

--Lately the Central Council of Trade Unions and the federal government have jointly been devoting increased attention to the continuous supply of the domestic market, to a substantial expansion and enrichment of the assortment of consumer goods, and to the overall development of services. The plan instructs selected enterprises to ensure that shortage items and products most in demand constitute at least 1 percent of their production volume. We started out from the principle that wage policy and the development of prices were an integral part of care for the workers' living conditions. An important agreement was reached that any price adjustments would be always discussed in advance with the Central Council of Trade Unions.

--Enterprise social policy that ties in with the measures by society as a whole is an essential and irreplaceable form of lending substance to the party's social program. A program approach has been introduced in this area by the comprehensive programs of caring for the workers, proposed by the 6th plenary session of the Central Council of Trade Unions, in 1973. Closely linked to the collective contracts, these programs have contributed to the far-reaching, long-term and plan-conforming solution of the collectives' working and living conditions. They not only mobilized the collectives to earn own resources for the enterprises, but also stimulated the workers to allot more to the cultural and social services fund, and to spend the resources of this fund more prudently, for the benefit of all the workers.

--As an inseparable part of the economic plan, the plans for cadre, personnel and social development are linked to the favorable experience with the comprehensive programs. The social measures of the party, government and Central Council of Trade Unions, and the program objectives of the trade-union organizations in the area of care for the workers, set each year in the collective contracts and trade-union activity plans, are thus ensured in a planned manner directly at every plant and enterprise.

--The cultural and social services funds are a great achievement that permits realization of the plans for the collectives' social development. Their volume is increasing year by year. These funds totaled 3.8 billion korunas in 1973, but nearly 7.5 billion in 1982. It is a known fact that today as much as 2.8 percent of the volume of wages may be allotted to the cultural and social services fund if all the tasks and conditions are fulfilled. By law, the plant trade-union committees, which are best qualified to weigh the justification and urgency of the workers' needs, bear coresponsibility for the proper use of the resources in these funds, and they cannot relinquish this coresponsibility.

By the Method of Joint Discussions

--The increasingly complex conditions that in the late 1970's began to influence the development of the national economy, and their impact on the living and

working conditions at the plants, demanded that we seek new ways for the trade unions' participation in, and influence on, the resolution of specific problems in production and in care for the workers as well. Particularly after the 7th plenary session of the Central Council of Trade Unions in 1979 that, in addition to other conclusions, also suggested joint discussions by the state, economic and trade-union organs, a number of important problems concerning the further improvement of care for the workers were solved, or their solution was perfected in certain respects, at joint discussions between the organs of the Central Council of Trade Unions and organs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic's government.

--One of the most significant results of our long-term efforts was the set of measures to develop plant cafeterias, which made it possible to increase the proportion of workers served meals at plant cafeterias from 22 percent in 1973 to nearly 50 percent at present. On the basis of a proposal by the Central Council of Trade Unions, the wages of plant-cafeteria workers, which previously burdened the cultural and social services fund and therefore were hampering the further development of plant cafeterias, have been charged to the costs of the economic organizations. This measure permits expansion of plant-cafeteria meals for the workers of the second and third shifts, and it also leaves 600 million korunas this year, and roughly 900 million korunas a year from 1984 on, in the cultural and social services funds that can now be spent on other urgent social needs, in behalf of the collectives.

The joint discussions between the federal government and the Central Council of Trade Unions produced important progress also on other questions that are directly related to care for the workers at the plants. The principles were formulated for increasing the responsibility of the economic and trade-union organs in the area of industrial safety and occupational health, by introducing three-level control. The rule has been introduced that the collegiums of the ministries must analyze the causes of, and the responsibility for, every fatal accident within their branches.

It may be regarded as a significant success that long term, already since 1973, the rate of disability due to illness has been around 3.4 percent in Czechoslovakia, and it is around 4.1 percent if we include also industrial and other accidents. The rate of industrial accidents dropped by 3.1 percent in 1982 over 1981, and the decline is as much as 24 percent over a 10-year period. Which is nearly one quarter. The number of fatal industrial accidents in 1982 was the lowest since 1945. These favorable trends are reinforced by the joint measures of the federal government and the Central Council of Trade Unions to curb the rise of disability, accidents and occupational diseases, to gradually reduce the amount of overtime worked, and to broaden social control by the trade unions of compliance with the labor regulations.

In joint discussions with the federal government we have persistently and decisively pressed for the solution of the constantly criticized shortage and inferior quality of the personal means of protection issued to workers. Thanks to this, we are able to report a minor but nonetheless partial improvement.

The joint principles formulated by the federal government and the Central Council of Trade Unions in 1980, and supplemented in 1982, have helped to raise the quality of the collective contracts, especially of their social part. This year, for the first time, it is again mandatory to register the collective

contracts with the appropriate higher economic and trade-union organs, whereby both contracting parties feel more responsible for fulfilling the obligations they have assumed.

The drive "Trade-union members for their plants and for the republic" that the trade unions sponsored contributed significantly toward the development of care for the workers at the enterprises. Since its launching in 1974 through the end of last year, plant workers have devoted nearly 500 million brigade hours to improving their working environment. Although not always directed toward the most essential goals, this voluntary work contributed toward the plants' building over 100,000 new places in facilities for preschool children. The collectives' initiative concentrated also on building and modernizing Pioneer camps sponsored by the trade unions, and also plant cafeterias, and the health-care and recreational facilities of the enterprises. Assistance by the plants included also the construction of enterprise housing, accommodations for workers, and workshops, classrooms and dormitories for apprentices.

Trade-Union Dues Benefit Members

No less extensive is the area of care for the workers that is financed from trade-union resources, whereby a substantial proportion of the trade-union dues is returned directly, in various forms, to the members of the revolutionary trade-union movement. We are fully responsible for what we are doing in this area.

In full awareness of this responsibility, after the 8th Congress of Trade Unions we began to build systematically the material and technical base for selective recreation sponsored by the trade unions, to improve the level and utilization of the facilities for enterprise-sponsored recreation, and to build additional trade-union sponsored Pioneer camps, and cultural and sports facilities for the workers.

In 1973 through 1982, we spent nearly 4.5 billion korunas on the construction of modern and comprehensive trade-union recreation centers, Pioneer camps, cultural centers, and other trade-union facilities. We built 10 recreation centers and modernized 16 older facilities. At the end of last year, 21 recreation centers were under construction, 10 of which will be commissioned soon. Whereas 62 investment projects were completed in 1973, in 1982 the number of various construction projects was already 115, nearly double.

Last year, nearly 460,000 workers spent their vacations at domestic recreation centers for selective recreation, an increase of 100,000 over 1973. About 70,000 trade-union members participate in selective recreation abroad, an increase of 30,000.

From these data it is evident that we are developing recreation for workers purposefully, in a programmed manner. But despite the fact that we are spending more and more with each year on the construction, modernization and reconstruction of recreational facilities, the results would be even more pronounced if the newly built recreation centers were a net increase to the existing bed capacity. However, a proportion of the beds are needed to accommodate the employees of the recreation centers, and some of the old facilities must be closed and repaired. If we did not build new recreation centers and modernize the old ones, our problems would be much greater and, instead of a net gain during the past 10 years, there would now be roughly 120,000 stays fewer per year.

An indication of the constant upgrading of the selective recreation offered by the trade unions is that the proportion of recreation centers furnished at the level of category I increased from 8 percent in 1973 to 25.2 in 1982. The number of vacation stays with spa treatment is nearly 8000 in Czechoslovakia and about 6000 abroad.

Development continued also of vacations in Pioneer camps sponsored by the trade unions. The number of children who spent their vacations in Pioneer camps was 323,000 in 1973 and already 467,000 in 1982, an increase of nearly 45 percent.

Construction of Pioneer camps accounted for 21 percent of the trade unions' investment in 1973; but in 1982 this proportion was already 30 percent, the same as the proportion of investment in recreation centers of the trade unions. (In all, 868 million korunas was spent in 10 years for the construction of Pioneer camps.)

The scope and quality of enterprise recreation, which provides vacations and weekends on a wide scale for the workers' entire families, have changed considerably since 1973. Today roughly 17 percent more enterprise recreation centers are furnished at the level of category I, the number of facilities operating year-round has increased by more than 1500, and the utilization factor of the recreation centers is about 7 percent higher than 10 years ago. During this same period, the number of persons participating in enterprise recreation increased by nearly 750,000, and we expect that the total will exceed 3.0 million by the end of 1985.

The Central Council of Trade Unions has exerted efforts to ensure full trade-union solidarity in providing recreational opportunities for the plants that do not have recreation facilities of their own, to broaden the exchange of stays at recreation centers, and to develop enterprise recreation by pooling the enterprises' resources for the construction and efficient operation of recreation centers. These objectives are in accord with the Guidelines of the Federal Government and Central Council of Trade Unions for the Planned and Efficient Development of Enterprise Recreation, approved in 1981.

As we have already emphasized at the 10th Congress of Trade Unions, we will be upgrading and expanding recreation care by the trade unions, in all its forms. Because trade-union investments, similarly as investments within entire society, are subject to investment limits, we are unable to satisfy the entire demand for the construction of cultural and other trade-union facilities. We regard as a priority task also under the current five-year plan the construction of modern recreation centers and pioneer camps, the expansion of family recreation with the children, and also of selective recreation with rehabilitation facilities.

Other positive results could be mentioned of the trade unions' increased care for the workers' needs financed directly from trade-union resources. For example, the assistance that the trade-union plant committees provide for members from 50 percent of the trade-union dues, and other aid from trade-union funds and from the Antonin Zapotocky Fund amount to many millions.

Our Social Gains Evoke Admiration

In his speech at the 10th Congress of Trade Unions, Comrade Gustav Husak rightly expressed the conviction of us all when he said:

"Our people know very well from their own experience what socialism has brought them. We may prepare with pride the balance sheet of the changes in society, the rise in the material and cultural level of wide masses, the development of the villages, the growth of education and culture, and the extensive social gains."

The results achieved in years past in raising the living standard and in improving the working and living conditions of the workers are convincing proof of the constant care that the CPCZ, the socialist state and the revolutionary trade-union movement are devoting to strengthening the workers' secure livelihood and their satisfaction.

While at home we often are impatient because we are unable to accomplish everything as fast as we would like, in the capitalist countries the progressive trade unions must fight daily for the working man's basic right, the right to work and to ensure at least basic living conditions for himself and his family.

The present arms race, spurred by the world-dominating ambitions and antipopular, anti-Soviet and anticommunist policies of the ruling circles in the United States, is causing economic stagnation in all the capitalist countries, an overall decline of industrial production, a rapid rise of unemployment, and a high rate of inflation that seriously affects all the workers.

According to the statistics of the International Labor Organization, at the end of 1982 the number of persons who had lost their jobs or had been unable to find work upon leaving school was nearly 50 million in the developed capitalist countries alone, and nearly 500 million in the developing countries. Unemployment affects the most seriously women and youths and, more recently, also highly skilled categories of workers, to an ever-greater extent. We are witnessing sharp cuts in social spending in the state and community budgets, for health care, education, housing construction, and pensions.

Therefore the workers in the capitalist countries are viewing with admiration the social gains, and the results of care for the workers, in Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries. Our trade unions and workers are rightly maintaining solidarity with the struggle of the revolutionary and progressive trade unions, for basic living conditions and against the militarization of the economy and stepped-up spending on arms. The huge spending on arms, which today literally threatens life on our planet, could be used for peace, progress and mankind's development, as the Soviet Union is proposing, with the support of Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries.

We Must Not Succumb to Self-Complacency

We cannot be satisfied with the results we have achieved in improving the working and living conditions of our workers. By far not everything has been achieved of what we wanted to do to improve this care. This activity still has many weaknesses, it is not being developed consistently, and many opportunities and reserves remain unutilized. We must concentrate particularly on them; on everything important contained in our resolutions, on what has been set by the congresses of the trade unions, and on what is laid down as the duty of the economic and trade-union organs in decrees and other statutory provisions; briefly stated, on those areas where we must participate in the realization of the measures, or where the trade unions are directly responsible for realization.

The workers' health and industrial safety have always been in the forefront of the revolutionary trade unions' attention, and this must remain so also now and in the future. The development of work disability has always been a reflection of the economic and trade-union organs' care for working conditions. After a certain stabilization in the 1970's, the average duration of medical care is lengthening, there are more accidents not related to work, and work disability among women is rising.

The Central Council of Trade Unions and the federal government adopted joint measures that obligate the economic, health and trade-union organs to regularly and thoroughly analyze the causes of work disability, to introduce effective measures, and to discuss them with the workers at the trade-union membership meetings.

We wish to emphasize once again that the main responsibility for ensuring that these measures lead to an improvement of the present situation rests with the central committees of the trade unions. In their negotiations with the ministries, they must present their own standpoints and proposals, and they must consider critically any attempt to dispose of these problems through perfunctory resolutions. Consistency and a specific approach by the trade union will set an example also for the lower trade-union organs, especially for the trade-union plant committees, to demand more forcefully the remedying of the shortcomings in the plants and at the work stations.

--This applies particularly to the mining industry, where work is the most hazardous, and which therefore still reports the highest rate of work disability. We know that the large amount of overtime contributes to this in no small extent; we have not been able to reduce the amount of overtime, in spite of adopting so-called management and control measures. We request the Central Committee of the Mine Workers' Trade Union to analyze in detail the present situation. It is not enough to solve only the consequences when a miner's health has already been impaired; it is also necessary to investigate more intensively how the causes of the rise in work disability can be prevented, and especially how the organization and technology of mining can be perfected.

--The rates of work disability are above the national average also in the food and textile industries. This is especially serious because the great majority of the workers in these industries are women. The large number of short but frequently recurring episodes of illness should induce the central committees of the trade unions to seriously consider how to prevent more effectively the consequences of the considerably high work intensity, especially on the production lines, the high percentage of rejects that is common in these industries, and also the effects of the working environment where the women are exposed to moisture, dust, alternating temperatures and, in many instances, also to excessive noise. Which means that it is no longer possible to be satisfied with partial measures, even though they result in some improvement; instead, it is necessary to solve these problems jointly with the perfection of the production processes and work organization, and with investments essential to improve the working environment.

--Care for the workers' health is below the desired level also in construction. Even on large investment projects the construction is delayed of the necessary catering, health and sanitation facilities, although hundreds and even thousands of workers are already working there. This is not the first time that the Central

Council of Trade Unions is calling attention to this situation. It appears that the Central Committee of the Construction Workers' Trade Union has been unable to achieve a radical improvement in this respect, although the comrades know the situation very well. In the interest of care for the workers, they must assert their standpoints more forcefully already in the preparatory phase of large investment projects, not allow long-term temporary solutions, control consistently fulfillment of the measures agreed upon, and demand that the economic officials be brought to account who do not fulfill their tasks and are negligent in their duties.

Responsibility of Trade Unions

The 10th Congress of Trade Unions emphasized the serious coresponsibility of the revolutionary trade-union movement for improving industrial safety. This coresponsibility is rightly expressed in the social control that the trade unions exercise in this field. We must devote attention to the fact that not all industries have contributed equally toward the decline of the rate of industrial accidents and of the number of fatal accidents that our long-term balance shows. The number of accidents is above the national average particularly in the mining industry, in timber logging and wood processing, in the food industry and in agriculture. Although long term the situation has clearly improved in the construction, building materials, metalworking and chemical industries, the number of fatal industrial accidents has increased in rail and motor transport and in the lumber industry. It appears that attention to industrial safety in the mentioned industries falls far short of the requirements. Although the Central Council of Trade Unions and the Czechoslovak government ordered that each case of a fatal industrial accident must be discussed individually within the ministry's collegium, with the chairman of the trade union's central committee present, this principle is not being observed. For example, the collegium of the Federal Ministry of Transportation discusses cases of fatal accidents jointly, once every six months; and the collegium of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food does the same, every quarter. The appropriate trade unions are present and take cognizance of this practice. Fatal accidents at organizations within the competence of the kraj and okres national committees are discussed in the councils of these national committees, often without the knowledge and presence of the appropriate trade-union organ. Here again, none of the trade union central committees has objected. Analyses of fatal accidents show that most of them stem from the same sources and recurring causes. Fatal accidents occur primarily in materials handling, and when workers fall from heights. Here a thorough discussion could result very quickly in warning and protecting the workers. This also indicates that the training of workers in industrial safety regulations, even when the training is repeated, is not receiving systematic attention.

It is not enough for the central committees of the trade unions to seek constantly some "conceptual" solution. We demand of them also that they be more consistent in controlling even the seemingly obvious, and in demanding that the necessary conclusions be drawn when the basic conditions for industrial safety are violated.

--Progress is slow also in the introduction of three-level control of industrial safety. So far, only the daily and the weekly control of the work station and of the shop have been realized successfully. However, the third level of control

(monthly control of a randomly selected work station, conducted jointly by the management of the economic organization and the trade-union plant committee) remains the weakest point. What is and will be the authority of the trade-union plant committee if it tolerates such a situation! What is the attitude of the plant and enterprise directors to three-level control that has been prescribed for them by a government resolution. Such an attitude is just as intolerable as the direct violation of safety regulations. In the interest of the workers and in the interest of attaining the economic objectives, the plant committees of the revolutionary trade-union movement cannot tolerate this and allow the economic organs to short-change the fulfillment of joint agreements and resolutions.

--We mention once again the duty to enforce the regulations banning the lifting of heavy loads by women at work. In 1973, about 500,000 were employed in jobs involving the handling of such loads. In 1982, according to reports from the plants, their number dropped to 50,000. This is a significant result. But we must devote attention to these exceptions. In most cases they are being justified by the fact that the necessary packaging and materials handling equipment, hoists, carts, etc. are not being produced. The innovators at Velveta in Varnsdorf, who themselves built the carts for materials handling, or at Jitka in Otín and at other textile plants where the lifting of the rolls of textiles from the shearing machines has been solved, provide an example of how to solve this unquestionably important problem.

Random checks show, however, that even at work stations where exceptions are not allowed and the plants do not report such cases, women are forced to handle excessive loads. Even though the Central Committee of the Transport and Highway Workers' Trade Union had not received for two years any request for an exception to the ban on the handling of heavy loads by women, the organs of state professional inspection in North Bohemia Kraj established that female truck drivers of the CSAD [Czechoslovak State Automobile Transportation] plant in Prunerov are working without driver's assistants and are themselves required to load and unload shipments weighing more than 15 kilograms. Similar cases were uncovered at the O40 plant, in Hulin, of the Naradi (Tools) Concern Enterprise, and at other plants.

Where has the sense of responsibility sunk of those trade-union officials who tolerate false data and let women be forced to do heavy physical labor, while in the reports this fact is concealed and camouflaged. Do they realize that each falsified fact only serves to perpetuate the present situation? In the final outcome this also undermines confidence in that the trade union organization properly protects the interests of working women. This is a serious criticism of the trade unions' central committees that have a duty to know the situation, to verify the data on the work of women required to handle heavy loads, to check the validity of the granted exceptions, and to intervene immediately where this regulation is violated.

The central committees of the trade unions should set as their goal--even though we know this is a demanding one--to create before the end of the 7th Five-Year Plan, jointly with the economic organs, conditions for phasing out all exceptions that still allow women to handle heavy loads at work.

--All the available knowledge and experience indicate that the trade-union organs are not making full use of their rights and possibilities to solve the

questions of industrial safety and working conditions. We have the right of social control over industrial safety and health protection, we have 136,000 volunteer inspectors of industrial safety in the trade-union locals to do this work and also 120 officials assigned full-time to such work, and within each trade-union organ there is an appropriate commission. They constitute a great force, one that must function as actively as possible. From their experience the appropriate trade-union organs must draw, on their own initiative, proposals for eliminating the shortcomings. We have a good resolution of the Central Council of Trade Unions on strengthening the role of industrial safety inspectors. The central committees of the trade unions should influence more clearly the management of this important activity, and to this end they should utilize already the findings of the public checks of industrial safety in April of this year.

Poor Quality Results in Higher Consumption

As we very well know, already before the 10th Congress of Trade Unions and more recently on the basis of the serious criticism voiced by the delegates to this congress, the Central Council of Trade Unions has devoted increased attention to the quality of the personal means of protection assigned to workers, and to ensuring the production of such means of protection and their supply to the enterprises. On our initiative, the federal government and the governments of both republics considered these questions on several occasions. It can be said that the supply of the enterprises with work aids has partially improved in the case of specifically monitored types such as quilted work clothes, miner's suits, steel-cap shoes, protective helmets, and RU 20 breathings masks. The shortage of other means of personal protection has been alleviated only partially. But we still cannot be satisfied with the low quality, particularly of the twill overalls, gloves, and regular and special work shoes. The inferior quality increases incommensurately their consumption, which in its turn increases the demand. The contradictions between the demand for individual work aids and their supply results in that the enterprises are supplied very irregularly with such work aids, which is the subject of constant criticism.

A recent conference of representatives of the manufacturing, consumer and distributor organizations, called on the initiative of the Central Council of Trade Unions, confirmed these findings entirely. At the same time it became evident that the approach to ensuring this important task varies considerably. Exemplary is the approach of the Meat Combine in Prague-Pisnice to ensuring the necessary means of protection. On the basis of the Meat Combine's request and in close cooperation with production, the Research Institute of the Meat Industry in Brno solved fairly quickly the design of skid-proof boots, protective aprons, high boots for women, and of work clothes and gloves reinforced with metal fiber. Their production for this year has been ensured at Svit in Gottwaldov, and at Otavan in Trebon.

--The quality of personal means of protection is still not fully appreciated, neither in the responsible production ministries nor in the planning organs. We believe that also the research institutes of industrial safety in Prague and Bratislava should be concentrating more on the research, development and innovation of the personal means of protection and of industrial safety equipment. The high quality of the personal means of protection is a prerequisite for them to fulfill their functions, and also for managing prudently the human labor and materials expended on their production.

--In spite of the partial improvement, the present state in this area is becoming unacceptable, and the ability of the state and economic organs to resolve the shortage and quality of the personal means of protection is already a matter of public confidence, a political issue. Therefore this problem should be approached accordingly. If we are appealing for order and discipline everywhere, we too are obliged to fulfill in this area the conclusions of the 10th Congress of Trade Unions and to demand that the governments take appropriate action against those who up to now have not been fulfilling the tasks important for protecting the workers' health. In the same way we are demanding that order be introduced in allocating, maintaining and returning the used personal means of protection directly at the plants and enterprises. The Central Council of Trade Unions expects an overall improvement, and the solution of the shortages of other means of personal protection. The central committees of the trade unions must exercise social control far more thoroughly also in this area.

Shortage of Plant Physicians

We are pleased to note the gradual expansion of health care at the plants, where the number of health-care facilities increased by 23 percent during the past 10 years. They now employ nearly 2400 doctors, which is 27 percent more than in 1973. However, there are a number of shortcomings in this area, and the people are justified in criticizing them.

Statistics show that in Czechoslovakia the number of patients per doctor is becoming smaller and smaller. But the same cannot be said of the number of workers per plant physician. We are disturbed particularly by the uneven distribution of plant physicians and of doctors in the health-care districts of certain krajs and in large industrial conurbations. This is evident the most depressing-ly in North Bohemia Kraj where plant physicians are still lacking in a number of okreses. In this highly industrialized region, plant physicians treat only 49 percent of the workers, whereas in Central Bohemia Kraj, for example, they treat 70 percent. Frequent replacements of the plant physician lower the quality of health care, making it impossible to provide systematic preventive care and to develop protection of the workers' health.

In some industries such as mining, metallurgy, engineering, the textile and clothing industry, and rail transport, practically all workers receive medical care from their plant physician. The situation is worse in agriculture, in the local economy, in the lumber industry and motor transport, where only a quarter of the workers are treated by plant physicians. We realize that it is difficult to achieve that each small plant have its own medical center. The task of the all-union organs and of the Health Workers' Trade Union is to accelerate the construction of joint health-care facilities for several plants, or to expand the commission of the territorial district physicians to ensure health care for all workers even at these scattered small plants.

We appreciate the attention that both ministries of health have devoted to the comments made from the podium of the 10th Congress of Trade Unions, and to their elaboration jointly with the conclusions of the 6th plenary session of the CPCZ Central Committee. However, also the okres and kraj trade-union councils must devote constant attention to these questions, because state health-care policy

is realized primarily at the okres and kraj levels. The all-union organs must influence the expedient distribution of physicians and especially must strive to retain plant physicians. Our aim is to achieve that the kraj and okres national committees will not approve development plans in this field without taking into consideration the standpoints of the kraj and okres trade-union councils.

--The trade-union plant committees also can contribute significantly toward the retention of physicians at the health-care facilities of the plants. They must see to it that the plant physicians are regarded as members of the plant collectives in every respect, that they receive housing, their children are admitted to facilities for children of preschool age, and that they are entitled to plant recreation and other benefits. The equipment of the plants' health-care facilities likewise must not be overlooked, and more resources from the cultural and social services fund could be used for this purpose. The plants can base the plant physician's remuneration on the fulfillment of the tasks in preventive health care.

The development of occupational medicine in the okreses is still in its infancy. Even where such sections do exist in the polyclinics, they are unable to solve comprehensively, with specific recommendations for practice, the urgent needs of modern industrial production and its impact on the workers' state of health. This is not succeeding even in such important industrial centers as, for example, Karvina or the mining okreses in North Bohemia Kraj.

Regular preventive check-ups for the workers also tie in with this. The ministries of health are proceeding very hesitantly, and so far they have not determined the mandatory scope of the check-ups. The argument is not valid that prevention involves higher financial costs. Our view is that society will recover many times over the costs of better prevention, whereas we will be paying dearly in the future for savings at present.

The results of the surveys, which were held after joint discussions with the federal government on improving health care in Prague, Brno and Bratislava, confirmed that our warnings of serious shortcomings were correct. Specific measures have already been elaborated in Brno to improve the situation regarding the plant and bed capacity of the hospitals. The situation is far more complex in Prague where the present difficulties are caused by the inadequate capacity, equipment, composition and location of the health-care facilities. The same can be said of Bratislava. Therefore we welcome the federal government's announcement that it is preparing measures, in cooperation with the national governments and the appropriate national committees, that will permit the gradual solution of these problems.

We request the ministries of health to contribute more conspicuously toward solving the problem of the plant and district physicians' distribution and retention, toward reinforcing medical care provided by plant doctors, expanding preventive care and improving the quality of medical and nursing care in general. This is one of the primary tasks for the Health Workers' Trade Union. It is not enough to devote attention only to the professional interests of the doctors and other health-care personnel; they must also adopt a more sensitive approach to their patients and must provide appropriate care for every patient. The relationship between doctors and other health-care personnel on the one hand, and

their patients on the other, influences public opinion regarding the level of our socialist health care, often more strongly than significant advances in the medical sciences do.

During the 30 years since the revolutionary trade-union movement took over the administration and management of health insurance, it has been demonstrated that the trade unions are able to use these billions expediently and with responsibility, in behalf of the workers. However, experience also shows that not all officials of the trade-union plant committees and of the national insurance commissions are fully aware of their responsibility and always able to fully assert their authority in such a way that primarily the voluntary health-insurance benefits may help to alleviate the impact of social events on the working man's life.

The most frequently recurring complaint concerns the payment of health-insurance benefits for nursing a member of the family. This applies mostly to those industries where many women are employed who have small children. We admit that when it comes to deciding whether to grant a woman 3 or 6 days of benefits for nursing her sick child, the trade-union official considers also his coresponsibility for fulfilling the plan and ensuring the production tasks. Each case must be decided in the spirit of the regulations, but also in full knowledge of each worker's family circumstances, to avoid misunderstandings and possible rigidity. On the other hand there are many plants where the national insurance commission and the trade-union plant committee are more conciliatory, do not check the justification of providing health-insurance benefits, and do not take appropriate action against those who demonstrably are abusing their social benefits.

It is necessary to investigate also in health insurance the causes of the considerable volume of paperwork. It seems that the implementation instructions for providing maternity aid and family allowances could be simplified to make the work of the trade-union organs easier.

To perfect health insurance, to further develop and differentiate social assistance to large families, and to expand care for the workers in their old age and permanent disability means first of all that the possibilities provided by the law and the regulations now in force must be better utilized within the entire sphere in which society's resources are being spent. The Central Council of Trade Unions will continue to work on suggestions how to further perfect health insurance and social assistance to large families, in accordance with the economic conditions.

Development of Plant Catering

The substantial rise in the number of workers who eat in plant cafeterias shows that the resolutions of the 10th Congress of Trade Unions are gradually being implemented, and that this is a promising form of providing meals for workers. However, neither the state and economic nor the trade-union organs have been responding promptly enough of late to the growing interest in more advantageous plant-cafeteria meals. It is especially urgent to devote more attention to the continuous supply of the plant-cafeteria kitchens with raw materials in the required assortment, and to provide additional personnel for cooking and serving. The federal government's decree on plant catering, issued on the proposal of the Central Council of Trade Unions and in agreement with it, became effective

as of 1 January 1983 and provides the prerequisites for the solution of these questions. The union, all-union and local organizations of the revolutionary trade-union movement must see to it that its provisions are implemented consistently.

In the further development of plant catering we will aim preferentially for the expansion of meals for workers on the second and third shifts. It is appropriate that central kitchens are being built, on the basis of the capacities of existing large plant-cafeteria kitchens, and are being equipped with the necessary advanced technology, to make the preparation of meals more efficient. An example of this is the mass production of meals for Kutna Hora Okres, or the large kitchen of the Stavoservis Enterprise at na Kosiku, Prague 4, etc. Although these examples are very convincing, they are, unfortunately, only isolated ones.

Efficient preparation of meals requires also the further solution of the domestic production or possible CEMA import of large-capacity kitchen equipment. We request also the Metalworkers' Trade Union to help more effectively in creating conditions for perfecting the technology of food preparation, in all industries.

For miners working underground, catering is being provided in the form of free cold lunches, although the miners' work in particular would require nourishing hot meals during the shift. Even at strip mines, only 36 percent of the workers are served hot meals. A good example is the Border Guards (Pohranicni straz) Mine in the Sokolov basin where not only the first, but also the second and third shifts are served hot meals. The Central Committee of the Miners and Power Industry Workers' Trade Union should spread this experience to the other coal basins and should discuss with the Federal Ministry of Fuel and Power the problem of supplying hot meals for all miners.

Much will depend on how trade-union officials at the plants and in the all-union organs approach the possibility of using the Restaurants and Dining Rooms Enterprise's outlets to provide meals for the workers on the principle of plant catering. We welcome the offer of the Raj plants in some of the large cities, including Prague, to make capacity available for the preparation of meals, but without cafeterias and the transportation of the hot meals to the plants. This solution can be used in some instances, but it will not help most plants that do not have cafeterias and provisions for transporting the hot food. The okres trade-union councils will have to urgently solve, in cooperation with the trade-union plant committees and the economic organs of the national committees, the other side of this possibility: to obtain premises and furnishings for cafeterias and to organize the transportation of hot food. This would be of help particularly to small plants that at present must rely mostly on restaurant vouchers and are unable to provide any other form of catering on their own.

The okres trade-union councils should consider comprehensively the questions of plant catering's further development and should render specific assistance to the plants where it is possible to expand and increase the preparation of meals. They must strive to reduce the costs of plant catering, to shorten the waiting time in the plant cafeterias, and to ensure the delivery of hot meals to remote workplaces. They should consider also the new situation that has arisen by charging the wage costs of plant catering to the economic organizations, which has made substantial resources available in the cultural and social services funds of the plants. They should persuade the trade-union plant committees to

use at least a part of these resources for measures necessary to develop plant catering.

Extensive housing construction during the past ten years has provided a high level of housing for our workers and their families. In spite of this, housing must remain in the center of the trade-union organs and organizations' attention.

Abolition of enterprise housing construction and the changeover to cooperative housing construction for the retention of workers, and also the curtailment of state housing construction under the 7th Five-Year Plan, and the shortcomings in the maintenance of the housing stock are creating a number of problems, to which the workers are calling attention. These problems are also placing entirely new demands on the plant committees of the revolutionary trade-union movement and on the trade-union organs.

Together with the ministries, the central committees of the trade unions must study more thoroughly the housing needs of their workers and must include these needs in the ministry, trade-union and enterprise plans of social development. The task of the trade-union plant committees is to consider the class and social aspects of the housing problem and to make full use of their rights, especially in preparing waiting lists for housing and in decisions on providing assistance in the form of grants or special-purpose loans from the cultural and social services fund, for cooperative housing construction, housing construction for the retention of workers, and private housing construction. To a reasonable extent it is necessary to ensure housing for blue-collar families, newlyweds, and families with several children.

Challenging Objectives in Recreation

As we have said in the introduction, we regard recreation sponsored by the trade unions as one of the most significant social gains and as an inseparable part of care for the workers, for which the revolutionary trade-union movement is fully responsible.

In agreement with the conclusions of the 10th Congress of Trade Unions, we are setting the following goals for the further development of recreation sponsored by the trade unions: In 1985, we will make selective recreation available for 573,000 workers and family members, and we will prepare 80,000 stays abroad. The amount invested only for selective recreation will total 890 million korunas in this five-year period alone. Twelve new recreation centers are to be completed by 1985, and four of them have already been commissioned. Foreign recreation will be expanded to include stays particularly in the Soviet Union. Jointly with the Soviet trade unions, we are building the Druzhba large recreation center in the Crimea, near Yalta. It will provide accommodations also for our workers.

In addition to the traditional forms of selective recreation at domestic and foreign recreation centers, we will further expand stays with selected spa care or elements of rehabilitation care. In accordance with the guidelines of the 10th Congress of Trade Unions, the trade-union organs must allocate these specialized recreational stays primarily to miners and blue-collar workers at hazardous, multishift and highly mechanized work stations in industry, construction and transport, and to working women in particular.

--Officials of the trade-union plant committees often criticize the Central Council of Trade Unions because they are getting few vouchers for the summer months and are therefore unable to satisfy all requests. It is not possible now, nor will it be possible even in the future, to satisfy all requests for recreation, especially during the summer holidays. It will suffice to point out that from an average of 40 recreational relays a year, there are only four during the holidays; therefore, even at the largest possible bed capacity, only one-tenth of the workers participating in recreation can be accommodated during the summer months.

By carefully selecting the participants and expediently differentiating the contributions toward the price of the vouchers, therefore, it is necessary to ensure that workers avail themselves of trade-union-sponsored recreation also during the other months of the year. Every unused voucher, every bed left vacant at the recreation centers reduces the number of workers who can avail themselves of the recreational opportunities, and it also increases the average cost per bed and stay, as well as the amount of subsidies from central resources, which could have been used in other ways for the benefit of the workers. In 1982 alone, for example, subsidies for the operation of selective recreation totaled 236 million korunas.

In this context we wish to remind the trade-union plant committees to observe the principles of selecting participants for domestic and foreign recreation sponsored by the revolutionary trade-union movement. Many trade-union organizations are continuing to send on selective recreation workers who simply express an "interest" in obtaining a voucher, and often the trade-union organizations even cover a part of the voucher's cost, although the workers in question do not merit this on the basis of their work. The principle is not being observed that the participants in selective recreation must be approved at membership meetings, and thus it happens that from some plants the same circle of people go on trade-union-sponsored recreation each year. The higher trade-union organs--particularly the kraj committees of the trade unions and the kraj trade-union councils, which distribute the vouchers among the plants--should monitor more closely compliance with the guidelines on selecting the participants in recreation on the basis of their work results.

As already mentioned earlier, on the initiative of the revolutionary trade-union movement the Central Council of Trade Unions and the federal government adopted joint guidelines in 1981 on the plan-conforming and efficient development of enterprise recreation. First of all it is necessary to fulfill the task set by the 10th Congress of Trade Unions that call for ensuring the better utilization of this largest recreational base with a capacity of nearly 250,000 beds, one-fourth of which is in facilities suitable for year-round operation. Besides making recreational stays available to workers of enterprises that do not have recreational facilities of their own, the trade-union plant committees and the okres and kraj trade-union councils should devote more attention to lending the recreational facilities, when not occupied, for use as outdoor schools for children from regions exposed to health hazards. We appreciate the fact that last year alone, on the basis of an agreement between the COR [Czech Council of Trade Unions] and the CSR government, the instruction of 28,000 children from the okreses of the North Bohemia Brown Coal Basin was made possible at enterprise recreation centers. By 1985, this number should increase to 50,000 children.

The Central Administration of Recreational Care is prepared to agree on the conditions of using additional plant recreation centers that meet the requirements of selective recreation sponsored by the revolutionary trade-union movement, because this system has proven suitable and aids the better utilization of such facilities.

--An integral part of the enterprises' social policy has become the educational and recreational care for children during vacations, in the form of Pioneer camps sponsored by the revolutionary trade-union movement. Although more and more children are spending their summer vacations in this manner, the Pioneer camps sponsored by the revolutionary trade-union movement are able to accommodate only 25 percent of the children. Even though the SSM [Union of Socialist Youth], CSTV [Czechoslovak Union of Physical Training] and other social organizations are organizing vacations for another 20 percent of the children, a full one-half of the boys and girls of school age still lack such opportunity. During the current five-year plan, 580 million korunas is being invested for the expansion, modernization and the construction of new Pioneer camps sponsored by the revolutionary trade-union movement.

The kraj long-range plans for the development of trade-union-sponsored Pioneer camps correctly anticipate their further expansion, in accordance with the conclusions of the 10th Congress of Trade Unions. Most of the children at camps in summer are from North Bohemia Kraj; and in winter, from Prague and Central Bohemia Kraj. The other krajs still have great reserves.

The establishment and operation of trade-union-sponsored Pioneer camps keeps many trade-union plant committees busy for several months during the year, because they must literally provide everything. It will be necessary to consider how better to divide responsibilities between the trade-union plant committees and the economic managements of the plants, so that the plant committees may fully devote themselves to political organizing and educational work with the children.

Because of the temporary shortage of investment resources and construction capacities, the 10th Congress of Trade Unions directed attention to those forms that can be realized quickly, so as to maintain in this manner the rate of expanding recreational opportunities for children. Therefore we are concentrating on building tent camps, and on using for both summer and winter vacations the enterprise recreational facilities and the school buildings and dormitories located in a suitable natural environment.

--We expect that also the appropriate state organs, the ministries of education and of health in particular, and the kraj and okres national committees will show more understanding and greater willingness in lending the necessary facilities, making teachers and health-care workers available, and providing transportation for the children and for supplying the Pioneer camps. State administration also shares the responsibility to provide recreation for sick and weak children, and this task cannot be shifted one-sidedly on the trade unions alone.

All trade-union organs and particularly the trade-union plant committees, in cooperation with the Pioneer organizations of the Union of Socialist Youth, must devote constant attention to educational work among the children. This applies to the selection of suitable workers who have the necessary political and moral

qualifications, and also to the consistent implementation of the Pioneer educational system and to other general activity of interest to the children.

Social Policy a Part of Economic Planning

As an integral part of economic planning and management, the plans for cadre, personnel and social development are the basic instrument of comprehensive enterprise care for the workers under the 7th Five-Year Plan.

Available information indicates that these plans have many shortcomings. They are not firmly dovetailed and coordinated with the economic plans, especially with the financial plan and the plan of technical development. Their content often reduces to a set of tables and various indicators, without thorough analyses and clearly set objectives. Political organizing and implementing measures usually are lacking. In the course of drafting the plans, sufficient time was not allowed to discuss them with the workers, and to let the trade-union organs formulate their standpoints before the plans were approved.

The greatest shortcomings in the plans of cadre, personnel and social development are at organizations managed by national committees. The appropriate trade-union and all-union organs are tolerating this situation and are not demanding the discussion of the plans, in the same way as at the plants and enterprises of centrally managed industry.

So far we have not had much experience with the plans of cadre, personnel and social development. However, it is essential that the first experiences be utilized in due time and properly. We recommend that the central committees of the trade unions, in their negotiations with the ministries and general directorates, insist on the evaluation of these experiences as an integral part of the comprehensive analysis of the economic results, and that they adopt the necessary conclusions and specify the further course of action. The enterprise and plant committees of the revolutionary trade-union movement should exercise control in the same manner.

Experience during the first two years of the 7th Five-Year Plan indicates that the enterprises' obligations stemming from their annual social development plans are not always included in the collective contracts. As a result, there is discrepancy between the objectives of the social development plans and the commitments in the appropriate chapter of the collective contracts. The annual social plans and the tasks of the collective contracts must express harmoniously what must be done as binding in the given year to perfect care for the workers.

--The resources of the cultural and social services funds, whose volume is increasing year by year, must be used far more purposefully for the fulfillment of the social plans. During the past ten years, these funds have nearly doubled. But it cannot be said that just as much more was done to improve working and living conditions at the plants. Even though substantial amounts were spent in recent years on plant catering, the largest expenditures from these funds are still loans for the acquisition and furnishing of homes, expenditures on recreation, and expenditures on cultural and educational activity that include primarily the costs of various brief excursions involving a relatively narrow circle of interested persons. Many plants spend substantial amounts also on sports that represent the plants, but are not of a mass nature. At the same time, the

unspent balances of these funds also are growing at many organizations, although this is not always justified by the formation of reserves for investment projects. Through detailed analyses, the central committees of the trade unions must obtain an overview of how the resources of the cultural and social services funds are distributed at enterprises of a similar nature, and for what purposes these resources are being spent. Influence must be exerted to achieve that the fund of cultural and social services is used more conspicuously to solve those tasks of the social program that help to provide more civilized working conditions and especially to prevent occupational diseases, to upgrade plant catering, to supplement the equipment for medical and rehabilitation care at the plant, to solve the workers' urgent housing needs, and to make the plant's environment more pleasant.

--The central committees of the trade unions and the trade-union plant committees should regularly discuss each year the use and management of the social and cultural services funds, when they evaluate, together with the economic organs, the fulfillment of the collective contracts and of the annual implementation plans of cadre, personnel and social development. They should see to it that the unspent balances are spent expediently on the plan-conforming perfection of care for the workers.

The workers' initiative within the "Trade-union members for their plants and for the republic" drive plays a unique role in the realization of the social plans and collective contracts. Trade-union members in the mining and power industry, chemical, glass and paper industries, agriculture and education have volunteered many hours on useful projects to improve the working environment and on health-care and recreational facilities. In contrast, the results are below the long-term average in the Metalworkers' Trade Union. Further development of this initiative requires that the central committees of the trade unions regularly evaluate its growth and contributions, and that they reward the best collectives in the same way this is being done by the trade unions in the textile, clothing and leather industries, and in trade and education.

We are convinced that if proper use of the cultural and social services fund is combined with the purposeful orientation of the workers' initiative within the "Trade-union members for their plants and for the republic" drive, then we will be able to achieve that for the improvement of the working environment there will be created permanent values that will benefit entire collectives and will contribute significantly toward satisfying the workers' needs at the plants.

--For perfecting the living conditions outside the work process, there is still much to be done within the revolutionary trade-union movement to satisfy the essential needs and requirements. Much will depend on how the trade unions are able to strengthen their cooperation with the national committees at every level.

This cooperation has already produced a number of good, concrete results. But its level varies by krajs and okreses, in accordance with how demandingly the trade-union organs and national committees approach it. In recent years, joint agreements, programs and procedures began to be introduced to ensure the economic, social and cultural development of the territorial units. The conclusions of the CPCZ Central Committee's sixth session in 1982 provided a significant impetus for this. The intensification of cooperation between the trade-union organs and the national committees was discussed at joint meetings between the

organs of the Czech and the Slovak Councils of Trade Unions and their respective republic governments. On this basis, joint measures were adopted by the okres national committees and okres trade-union councils to improve living conditions, particularly to perfect trade and services, commuting, health care and housing, and to pool assets for the construction of joint facilities, etc. Beneficial for all citizens, these measures are of great importance particularly to working women who bear the brunt of the present shortcomings in this area.

--Now it is of decisive importance to implement all these measures in practice. As especially urgent we regard constant attention to controlling the level of trade and services.

We do not claim that the present system of control, including so-called consumer audits managed by the national committees, is not very effective. But it is becoming increasingly clear, as the 10th Congress of Trade Unions pointed out, that it is desirable to include in this control the workers from the plants. This presupposes that we develop close cooperation between the trade-union organs and the appropriate control organs in this field.

--The superior advantages of socialism do not manifest themselves only in the ever-better supply of the material and social aspects of life, but also in the development of man's spiritual needs and in the variety of ways that these needs can be satisfied. Therefore, as the 10th Congress of Trade Unions pointed out, the trade unions regard their tasks in caring for the workers' working and living conditions as a complex of activities that includes also the suitable utilization of leisure time and the development of the cultural and social life of the working collectives and individual workers, as the trade unions' contribution to forming the socialist way of life.

We will strive to achieve that the revolutionary trade-union movement's cultural establishments, whose activity can significantly influence social life in the area of their operation, contribute more toward improving the people's living conditions outside the plant. We will provide more support for developing various amateur activities and for organizing cultural entertainment for adults and youths. It will be the task of the trade-union organizations to continue to develop and to effectively utilize the extensive year-round physical training activity at the plants and recreational centers, to organize competitions in team sports and to support interest in other sports of a mass nature.

--When we speak of living conditions, they include also the living environment, the importance of which is constantly growing.

It is the urgent task of every trade-union member to regard care for the living environment as an integral part of trade-union activity, and to expand social control of compliance within the plants with the regulations for the protection of the living environment. It is likewise necessary to educate the workers more thoroughly to consistently observe the principles of the laws and regulations in force, so as to prevent any further deterioration of the living environment in Czechoslovakia.

More Decisively Against Abuses

Comprehensive care for the workers demands that we consistently defend their legal rights and claims.

The past period demonstrated that providing legal assistance in all its forms remains an effective instrument. Last year alone, hundreds and thousands of our members came personally to the higher trade-union organs with their problems. Tens and thousands sent letters and written complaints.

The experience to date with the practical disposition of the workers' complaints by the trade-union organs at every level indicates that a substantial proportion of such complaints is suitably solved, but in many instances the real causes of the criticized phenomena are not uncovered. As a result, the remedial measures are not always complete, and hence not sufficiently effective.

The support that the workers express, through the development of their work initiative and social activity, for the policy of the CPCZ and the objectives of the revolutionary trade-union movement obligates all trade-union organs and organizations to effectively help remove anything that undermines this effort and activity, and to fight with greater determination against shortcomings, against conduct incompatible with socialism, and against the remnants of bourgeois and petit bourgeois mentality and morals. The trade-union organs at every level will be strengthening the workers' confidence in the party's policy and the revolutionary trade-union movement's activity if they demand emphatically that action be taken against those who violate the regulations and laws, if in a principled manner they uncover and resolve cases of labor indiscipline, selfishness, slovenliness, bribery and various forms of speculation. It is necessary to demand of every trade-union official that he be principled, truthful, honest, modest and self-critical, and that he have a sense of responsibility for the fulfillment of his assigned tasks, and the courage to uncompromisingly solve any shortcomings. At the same time this also means exercising more emphatically, in the interest of socialist legality, the function of social control that is entrusted also to the trade-union organs. Only the officials who set an example can successfully conduct educational work and convince the working collectives.

There are trade unions and trade-union officials at every workplace. On them depends how they will reinforce the worker's contentment, his optimistic outlook on life, his determination to work, his working and living conditions, and also what people so often long for today: a sensitive attitude to the workers' concerns and problems, comradely relations with people, and a comradely atmosphere at the workplace and in civilian life.

Therefore all trade-union organs and particularly the trade-union plant and shop committees, and even the section stewards, must devote constant attention to the problems of the individual workers; they must not disregard any of the workers' complaints or requests, but must discuss them and follow up their disposition.

Trade Unions' Dual Role

Thanks to the trade unions, considerable work has been done also in the area of the party's social policy, in caring for the workers. Concern for the satisfaction of the workers' material and cultural needs has become a constant and integral part of the revolutionary trade-union movement's activity. But not even the indisputable successes can lead us to conceal the problems and shortcomings. I am aware that not always and everywhere is the importance of caring for the workers correctly understood, fully appreciated, and the specified measures consistently implemented.

--We will not lose sight of the present complex economic situation, under which maintenance of the living standard requires primarily the formation and utilization of material resources for the further expansion of production. We will promote greater economies everywhere and demand maximum economization in every respect. But this does not mean a lessening of the economic and trade-union organs' interest in the everyday problems of the workers, in their working and living conditions. To the contrary. We must continue to approach with the highest sense of responsibility all questions that affect the people's lives.

Therefore it is essential that all links in the economic management of production, trade, services and health care, and primarily the trade-union organs themselves, show much greater initiative. Our efforts to perfect care for the workers must be tied even more closely to the development of socialist competition, to the workers' wider participation in management, and to the consistent realization and control of the adopted plans and measures. This is the essence of the revolutionary trade unions' dual role under the present conditions.

The frequently emphasized slogan "The way we work today will determine how we will live tomorrow" is more valid now than ever before. As revolutionary trade unions, we are obliged to do everything possible so that every worker understands the profound meaning of this principle.

This is the path toward solving with even greater responsibility the challenging tasks of the present stage, toward achieving that the revolutionary trade-union movement fulfills with honor the mission it pledged to undertake at the 10th Congress of Trade Unions: to widely develop the revolutionary trade-union movement's role and coresponsibility for the further development of socialist society, and to clearly intensify the trade unions' contribution toward the realization of the program adopted by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

1014

CSO: 2400/201

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEFENSE MINISTER ISSUES STERN WARNING ON NATO ARMS BUILDUP

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 7, 1983 (signed to press 7 Feb 83) p 3

[Excerpts from speech by Army General Heinz Hoffmann to leading cadres of the National People's Army (NVA): "NATO Arms Buildup Brings Consequences for Socialist National Defense: U.S. Government Had Departed Radically From Policy of Peaceful Coexistence--Strengthened Socialism Has Erected Powerful Obstacles Against War--Socialist Armed Forces Must Be Vigilant and Combat Ready"]

[Text] (ADN) Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister for national defense, spoke on 3 February to leading cadres on the National People's Army and the teaching staff of the Friedrich Engels Military Academy in Dresden on the current military and political situations and the conclusions which should be drawn from them in regard to the GDR's national defense program.

In his speech he said, among other things:

As Comrade Erich Honecker, the Secretary General of the Central Committee of our party, stated in his concluding speech at the 5th Congress and later on in his speech on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, the exacerbation of the international situation, for which imperialism, and particularly the United States, is to blame, is still going on.

Washington Is Heading toward Total Confrontation

That was also confirmed at the session of the Political Council of the member states of the Warsaw Pact in early January 1983.

Referring to the Moscow Declaration (1978) and the Warsaw Declaration (1980), the nations allied with us stated in the Political Declaration of Prague, that, "as a result of the continuing activities of the aggressive forces, international developments are taking an even more dangerous course."

As the shape of the course of total confrontation being taken by the United States and NATO becomes clearer with every day that passes, it has become

obvious that what is involved is not simply a gradual intensification of their previously-existing policy toward the Soviet Union and the other Socialist nations. We are faced with an extremely dangerous change in the imperialists' policy--an open challenge to socialism, and particularly in the military field. With its present tack of intensive armament activity, the United States wants to exhaust the socialist nations in a new round of competitive armament and force them to their knees.

In a simply insane increase in their expenditures for armaments, the leaders of the United States not only wish to bring about a sweeping renovation of all kinds of armaments, nuclear and conventional, but they also wish to overturn the approximate strategic equilibrium that exists at present and prepare for all kinds of military activities in practically all areas of the world.

The United States' intensive armaments program also tends to exacerbate the situation so much because it is directly connected with working out and propagandizing strategic concepts and doctrines on the waging of war that are based on the hypothesis that it is possible for the United States to win a nuclear war against the Soviet Union by an unexpected first use of nuclear weapons. In so doing, the leadership of the United States has departed radically from the policy of peaceful coexistence and its obligations stemming from the Helsinki Conference and is now pursuing a policy with a more or less openly proclaimed objective of decisively weakening socialism as a world system, and indeed of destroying it, even at the price of a war with nuclear weapons.

In this process, the United States is also ready, in the interests of its claim to world domination, to act contrary to the interests of its closest allies and even to jeopardize the existence of the human race.

To persuade its NATO partners of the chances of success of the course Reagan wishes to follow--that is, the deploying of new American medium-range missiles--the vice president of the United States, George Bush, is traveling in western Europe at the present time. With demagogic assertions, he is trying to assert the Reagan government's alleged "willingness to come to an understanding," and he is striving, with massive pressure tactics, to obtain his allies' acceptance of his government's rigorous financial, economic and military policies.

In particular, the most recent proposals of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact nations, in a consistent continuation of a peace policy that has been pursued for decades, regarding renunciation of a first use of nuclear weapons and renunciation of the use of any force at all, regarding reducing the number of missiles and regarding a nuclear weapons-free zone in Central Europe have torn the masks from the faces of the most aggressive circles in the United States and NATO. Therefore Vice President Bush of the United States felt himself obliged to employ the rudest insinuations and slanders in his speech in West Berlin on 31 January in order to counteract the favorable reactions in western European public opinion.

Denial of an Arsenal of Weapons

Of that nature was the mendacious assertion that NATO must be unanimous in its determination to deploy the new American medium-range missiles, "because, if we are not, the Soviet Union will have no incentive at all to enter into serious negotiations."

In all seriousness, Bush claimed that the United States had placed a de facto moratorium on strategic weapons for an entire decade--while deliberately failing to mention that the United States not only was the first nation, and the only one up to the present, to use the atom bomb and develop the neutron bomb, but that it also was the first to introduce new types of intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine missiles, multiple-warheads, guided bombs and cruise missiles, respectively, and also the first to develop new strategic bombing aircraft.

The assertion of the vice president of the United States that NATO does not possess any weapons comparable with the Soviet SS-20 is completely absurd. If one leaves the so-called "forward-based systems" of the United States out of consideration, Great Britain and France alone have 162 sea and land-based medium-range missiles with ranges of 3,000 to 4,600 km. In addition, there are the 820 aircraft of the United States, Great Britain and France that carry nuclear weapons and have radiuses of action of from 1,600 to 2,800 km and are specially intended for use against the socialist countries of Europe and its marginal seas.

Thus, all the "facts" Vice President Bush brought forward in justification of the policies of the U.S. proved to be false, and his beautiful phrases regarding the course being pursued by Reagan proved to be mere noise and smoke. The letter from the president of the United States "to the people of Europe," which Bush read aloud in West Berlin like an actor in a political show, cannot be evaluated any differently, and it received the answer it deserved from the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Comrade Yuri Andropov.

Powerful Obstacles to Adventurousness

President Reagan's offer to meet Comrade Andropov any time, anywhere, to conclude an agreement with him regarding the famous "zero option solution"--that is, regarding the unilateral disarmament of the USSR in the field of land-based medium-range missiles--is, in fact a dirty horsedealer's trick. However, if the course taken by the Reagan administration up to the present is analyzed in detail, it becomes apparent that the hoped-for results are lagging considerably behind the declared purposes and goals. The indications that it is already getting harder and harder for the United States and NATO to stick to this course over the long term as they had planned it are becoming more and more frequent.

The critical phenomena such as declines in production, inflation and mass unemployment, which cut so deeply, have laid hold of practically all capitalist countries, and the ruling class of exploiters seek a way out of such situations, historical experience has shown, in foreign-policy adventures that bring ruin for the people, as a rule.

However, strengthened socialism has erected powerful obstacles against this traditional escape into war, and it would only be possible for imperialism to overcome them with considerable difficulty and at the risk of being confronted with its own extinction.

That shows the correctness of the firm yet flexible course of the foreign, security and military policies of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other allied nations in our socialist defensive coalition. It will also be correct and necessary to oppose the actions of the United States and NATO in the future, and to frustrate their plans.

"Our people," it was stressed in Prague, "would not understand it if we were to give evidence of indifference in the face of the imperialist threat."

The political declaration of the Prague session of the Political Council, taking this development as its starting point, laid down the principal lines to be followed in the present struggle to eliminate the danger of a nuclear war, to preserve and consolidate international detente and to develop cooperation in Europe.

In that connection, the fact that the member nations of the Warsaw Pact laid before the NATO member states a proposal for the conclusion of a treaty regarding renunciation of the use of military power and maintaining friendly relations, among other things, is of special importance. This far-reaching initiative in the field of world politics is capable of influencing the international controversy over the question of war and peace in a decisive way, of giving new impulse to the international peace movement and of increasing the chances of restraining and frustrating the confrontation course of the United States and NATO.

The People of Western Europe Would Have to Take the Consequences

With the planned deployment of an additional strategic nuclear weapon potential, the United States is pursuing the objective of increasing the destructive power of a nuclear first strike by the armed forces of NATO located in Europe by a considerable amount and of drastically shortening the possible reaction time of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact nations. The situation, where military strategy is concerned, would be fundamentally altered in favor of NATO by that means and the capability of permanently blackmailing the socialist nations would be created. In that way, however, the consequences of the expected counterstrike by the socialist armed forces would be averted from the United States. The people of western Europe, and specifically the working people of the FRG, would have to take the consequences of the U.S. leadership's adventurousness.

We know that the Soviet Union and its armed forces bear on their shoulders the main burden of frustrating these plans and of not permitting any decisive alteration of the approximate strategic balance. The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact nations will do everything in their power to preserve their security and ours. The allied socialist nations and their armies, including our National People's Army, must and will do whatever is necessary at any time to foil the infamous plans of imperialism.

We have to draw the proper conclusions in regard to increasing combat readiness and readiness for mobilization, and, among other things, we have to make our contribution to the task of providing timely information and effective combating of NATO's new weapons. In addition to that, the military demands on the United Armed Forces and the GRD's national defense system are not only increased by NATO's feverish armament efforts in connection with nuclear weapons, but also by its efforts to build up the readiness for aggression of its general-purpose forces further, in preparation for attacks with conventional forces.

The Minister went on to discuss the movement of the United States' armed forces in the FRG up to the borders of the GDR that is starting now and evaluated the combat-readiness and mobilization-readiness status of the NATO divisions and army corps, its air forces and naval forces.

The annual carrying out of large-scale operational-strategic maneuvers of the Autumn Smithy type also allegedly proved NATO's extensive preparations for aggression.

By means of that series of maneuvers, which are known to extend over an operational area stretching from northern Norway to the eastern border of Turkey and over the waters of the adjoining seas and oceans, realistic training is given involving the strategic deployment of the staffs and a large portion of NATO's troops, the bring of extensive reinforcements over from the United States, Great Britain and Canada, the mobilization of reservists and the creation of superior groupings of forces in selected areas in the immediate vicinity of the borders of the socialist nations.

Objective: To Frustrate Imperialism's War Plans

Grave consequences for the GDR's national defense program result from all these developments, and especially in regard to the preparation of the politically, ideologically and psychologically hardened cadres of the National People's Army and the GDR's Border Guard forces, who are well trained militarily. The preparation of our armed forces is being carried out with the clear-cut objective of not granting imperialism any military superiority, of frustrating its war plans and of forcing it to renounce any and all military adventures, to the extent possible.

New questions having to do with military science unquestionably arise from the military nature of a modern war and the consequences of it that possibly can be expected--and even the consequences that can be expected from a conventional war.

The fundamental line taken by all our thoughts and preparations in this connection can be expressed by the following statements:

--The Soviet Union and the other socialist nations, together with all peace forces, must be strong enough to prevent war and to make it fatally dangerous for imperialism to start one.

--The socialist armed forces must be vigilant and ready for combat in order to be able to confront the imperialist aggressor with determination.

If we live up to what is called for in these two statements, we will fulfill the expectations of our people and all peace-loving people in the world, and then we will be contributing to the accomplishment of the mission of the socialist nations and their armies.

9258

CSO: 2300/192

RELEASE OF SEVEN JENA DISSIDENTS, FATE OF OTHERS DISCUSSED

Report on Release

West Berlin TAGESZEITUNG in German 25 Feb 83 p 1

[Article signed 'K,' datelined "Berlin (taz)"; "GDR Regime Relenting? Seven From the Jena Group Released"]

[Text] It appears certain that in Jena seven people were on Wednesday released from prison who had been arrested during the past weeks, who are part of the independent peace movement within the larger circle of the Young Congregation and who had wanted to meet in front of the city church for a "minute of silence" on Christmas Eve 1982. It is not known yet under what conditions they have been released. These conditions could range from an imposed absolute silence about content and form the hours-long interrogations to a replacement of identity cards by the "substitute Identity Card PM 12" and restrictions for "criminally dangerous people."

Regardless of these conditions, however, the release of these people which as a rule means the same as the withdrawal of the state's intention to press charges is surprising. "In the GDR not a single citizen, no critically-minded GDR artists and workers, not to mention young people, have been arrested because they work in the interest of peace," the news agency ADN reported on 14 February. This statement, reported as coming specifically from "authorized sources" seems to have announced a genuine change of position on the part of GDR security authorities. Former Jena residents now living in West Berlin believe that a measure of this kind that embarrasses the local Jena "Department of Interior" could have been ordered "only from the very top." GDR authorities have obviously become irritated by increasing protests in the FRG to which the ADN announcement referred as "insecurity among professors and intellectuals...who are members of the peace movement."

It is not known if among those released is also the song writer Peter Kaehler (26 years old) who was arrested on 14 January. The former Zeiss mechanic is accused of having sung in a youth club on 7 January. "Do me a favor/could you please stop sentencing people in the name of the people," are the words of one of his songs which was broadcast last Tuesday during the program 'Panorama' which is very popular in the GDR.

Released was the painter Frank Rub (29 years old, arrested on 14 January), a former stone mason in whose apartment all drawings and poems dealing with problems of peace were confiscated as well as several West German books on this subject. Released also was the heating engineer Michael Rost who had to pay a fine of 750.00 mark for his participation in the "minute of silence" on December 24, 1982. He and his friend Stefan Ziegen (23 years old, arrested on 31 January, employed as a mechanic at Zeiss) were accused of "establishing contacts with enemies of the state." They are supposed to have written the text "For a Real Peace Without Arms" (see taz of 6 January) in which the request is made to establish free contacts with other peace groups in East and West and to have an opportunity to participate in a conference for a Europe without nuclear weapons (in May in West Berlin).

Released were also potter Andreas-Rainer Napp and Andreas Dietsch, who allegedly sprayed the slogan "Make Peace Without Arms" on several walls in Jena. Also released were the former nurse Uwe Behr (27, arrested on 16 January) who is accused of having written postcards with messages on the problems of peace, and the physicist Reinhard Wulfert, electrician Ulrich Schlutter, electrician Edgar Hillmann.

Still in prison, it seems, is theatre worker David Dudelitz, 23, who is alleged to have planned a spectacular demonstration in front of the Permanent Representation of the FRG in East Berlin. Among those arrested is one woman: Petra Falkenberg, 25, the girl friend of Roland Jahn who was sentenced to 22 months in prison. In 1981, she and others had placed a memorial announcement for Matthias Domaschk in the newspaper, and she is one of the signers of the petition to Erich Honecker in which hundreds of women protested against their possible inclusion into the armed services. Friends of hers see no other reasons for her arrest on 31 January than her participation in this petition and her complaints on behalf of her boyfriend. Since her arrest she has not seen her 4-year old daughter. Because several of those arrested have small children, the arrest of Petra Falkenberg is seen as an attempt to set an intimidating example.

Former Dissident's Interview

West Berlin TAGESZEITUNG in German 28 Feb 83 p 4

[Interview with Michael Blumhagen, former dissident from Jena, currently residing in West Berlin; by Kerstin Maurer, staff writer, TAGESZEITUNG: "Jena--Triumph of Peace Movement in East and West"]

[Text] [Question] Is there an explanation for the surprising release of all fourteen people who were arrested in Jena? What do you think?

[Answer] Here I can speak also for the people who were released: The GDR probably reacted to the signs of the time. A really hard and clear confrontation took place--inside and outside of the GDR--, there were quite a number of people, public figures and also clergymen who felt visibly offended and could not remain silent. Letters were sent, writers formed groups. And this also happened abroad, of course, in Austria, the Netherlands,

Sweden. I believe that the most convincing and clearest reaction--and that means perhaps also the most important one--was that of the West German peace movement, Petra Kelly and Gert Bastian, Horst Eberhard Richter, all of whom also signed an appeal.

Question Does this mean that activities such as those of which the people arrested had first been accused will now at least be tolerated, at least perhaps in Jena?

Answer The people who had been arrested and now wish to remain in the GDR consider the GDR, even after these events, a country in which they want to live and can live. Their goal now is to make their work legitimate, even within the confines of state control. On the one hand, they now want to move a little closer to the church and continue their peace activities inside the church, on the other hand they want, like e.g. Frank Rub, to show renewed interest in government affairs and as artists exhibit their work.

Question On the basis of your experience, would you assume that they will now have a little more elbow-room than before?

Answer I consider this entirely possible. After two days, it is terribly difficult to reach any kind of conclusion. A sharp protest always results in a short-term reaction. Is the government's action merely a short-term retreat from hardened positions or does it really signify a change in policy. We must also wait and see if conditions will be attached to the releases. So far, the people who had been arrested have not been given any conditions. They were released as completely rehabilitated and were allowed to resume the work they had done before their arrest.

Question Two men who had already been sentenced, Roland Jahn and Manfred Hildebrandt, were released on probation. Is that customary?

Answer Absolutely not. There is no question about it, after they had served one-third of their sentences and especially without any statement by the government that the educational purpose of the sentences has been fulfilled.

Question Another man from Jena is now in prison, Ingo Guether, who was convicted of total refusal to serve in the armed forces--as one would say here. And others, e.g., who were sentenced for refusing to serve in the armed forces are likewise still in prison.

Answer This is true. Ingo is still in Waldheim prison and he is one of them. It is questionable whether or not he will be released. But I consider it entirely possible that he will be released within a short time--he has applied for an exit visa to the West. As far as the others are concerned, whether or not they will be released nobody knows right now. I believe that the GDR's reaction pertained primarily to the people from Jena mentioned by name, a fact which should be stated openly, and not to people arrested in Weimar or other cities. There was this particular list of names which probably provoked the protests, not only in the West but also very strongly in the GDR itself.

Question Some of the people released had their exit permit applications in the processing stage. What are their chances now of making a living in Jena or the GDR, and of finding ways to express their political opinions?

Answer That will be up to each individual. Some of these people want to leave the GDR and work somewhere else, pursue their ideals where the pressure is not so great, where the danger is not so great. It is clear, of course, that through this entire wave of arrests these people were not exactly strengthened in their intention to remain in the GDR. The others, of course, look at the whole development more from the point of view of their release as a sign that things are still all right in the GDR, that they can still work there, that there is solidarity there, effective solidarity. These people are considerably strengthened in their convictions. They consider these events a victory won not only by themselves but by many others in East and West, and they see that as somewhat of an obligation to remain in the GDR.

Question Is this success a precedent? Do you believe that things are going to go on like this?

Answer I would not say that they will continue. I would rather consider this a beginning. In principle, something has happened in these last weeks that is new in quality. This time, ideologically related groups in West Germany have participated, peace groups recognizing their own identity as peace groups in the FRG are here involved. I believe I can speak in the name of those who were released when I say that they are really looking for this kind of contact that has now begun, legally of course, in order to develop it into a permanent effort. And I should perhaps add that I can express my thanks for this solidarity in the name of the people who have now been released.

Commentary on Peace Activities

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 16 No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 22 Feb 83) pp 225-228

Commentaries and Topical Discussions feature article by Dr Peter-Jochen Winters, chief, Berlin editorial office, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE: "Hunting Scenes From Thuringia"

Text Since the beginning of the year, there has been in the university town of Jena, Thuringia, a noticeable increase in the arrests of young people who in the West were prematurely considered to be part of a so-called "Jena peace scene" or of a "peace movement in the GDR." To be sure, some of these arrests are connected with the attempts of some young people from the "young congregation" in and around Jena to observe a minute of remembering peace on 24 December on Jena's Market Square. This attempt was at that time blocked by members of the State Security Service and of local and party authorities. In various places of work a warning had been posted that draft resisters were planning to march on Jena, and members of the most diverse "state organizations" patrolled the city, blocked access roads and checked identity cards of

suspicious young people. Eyewitnesses reported that the approximately 70 young people who eventually got to Market Square--where their pictures were taken--were there confronted by hundreds of "volunteer keepers of order."

The events of Christmas Eve, however, are only one link in a chain of events that have happened in Jena during the past 15 years. During this entire period there were in this city of 100,000 inhabitants again and again young people who had their own thoughts concerning peace and socialism, who took exceptions to the norms of "real existing socialism" and looked for alternative life styles and in this process frequently tried to give their thoughts and artistic expression. Again and again there were disagreements and confrontations with state authorities. There never was, however, an organized opposition--neither is there right now any organized peace movement--active in Jena. There were and still are circles of friends, loosely organized groups and individuals who hardly have contact with each other. At best, they get together at certain activities at the same time and with an always varying degree of participation. But this is exactly what makes them so irksome for State Security authorities. And thus it happens that security officers become especially irritated and react without appropriate judgment to anything happening on this "scene" and thereby again and again contribute to escalating the disagreement. The events in Jena are not representative of the situation in the GDR. In other cities there are disagreements between party and state on one side and critically-minded citizens, especially young people, on the other side, and these events are less spectacular. But the fact that from elsewhere in the land between Elbe and Oder nothing or only little that is comparable to the events in Jena becomes known to the public is no proof that outside of Jena everything is all right in the GDR. Jena is the city of the Zeiss Company. Here optical precision instruments, glass products and pharmaceuticals are produced. Many of these high-quality products are for the army, and this is one of the principal reasons that secrecy is stressed and that Jena is an important center of State Security operations. Ever since the times of Ernst Abbé and his exemplary social model of the Carl Zeiss Foundation, there are in Jena not only highly qualified but also self-conscious employers whose political leanings are always more social-democratic than communist. In addition, Jena is a university town. And finally, Jena is the city in the GDR--as people who know report--where in relation to the number of inhabitants most exit permits are requested, at least up to now. The result of the fact that many people who moved to the West still have close contacts with Jena was, especially in the past months, that events in Jena became known quickly in the West.

Jena is the city where Zeiss employees played a special role on and after 17 June 1953 in connection with the workers' uprising. Jena is the city where in 1975 the writer Juergen Fuchs, who now lives in West Berlin, was expelled from the university and forbidden to continue his studies just a few weeks before he would have completed his course in social psychology, was expelled from the FDJ and the SED because he allegedly damaged the reputation of the university in the public eye through his literary work. At that time, Fuchs who is married to a woman from Jena found refuge with his family at the home of Robert Havemann and his young wife Katja in Gruenheide near Berlin,

he was arrested after the expatriation of Wolf Biermann and then sent to West Berlin in August 1977. There were and still are all kinds of connections between the Havemanns and Jena and also between Biermann and Jena. Jena is the city where there was an especially critical reaction to the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the expatriation of Biermann. Finally, Jena is the city where young people are especially active in literary circles and peace movement, people who are not of the opinion that peace and socialism are one and that peace service is basically nothing else but the protection of socialism--as SED propaganda claims again and again.

The fact that the Protestant church in Tuebingen--which since the times of Bishop Mitzenheim has already played a special role within the eight GDR district churches--shows a rather unsympathetic and negative attitude toward the activities of the young people of Jena is another sign of Jena's special situation.

The present disagreements have their roots in the events of the spring of 1981. On 10 April 1981, State Security agents took the then 23-year-old Matthias Domaschk from Jena and a friend who was with him from the train at Jueterbog Station, and took both men to Gera "to clear up some matter." There they were held for almost 48 hours. The friend who now lives in West Berlin was released on 12 April. He was told that Domaschk would soon follow him, but then he was let go alone. A day later, Domaschk's parents were informed that their son had hanged himself a short time before his release. What in fact happened to the young man during the interrogation and afterwards has not been made clear to this day. The sudden death of Domaschk while he was in the custody of the State Security Service arouses attention in Jena. At the funeral services on 16 April 1981 approximately 150 people gathered at the cemetery under the watchful eyes of the State Security Service, even though death announcements which friends had wanted to put in the newspapers were not allowed to be printed. Not until one year later were his friends able to have death notices appear in two local Jena newspapers on the first anniversary of Domaschk's death.

Deeply affected by the sudden and senseless death of Matthias Domaschk, Michael Blumhagen, a young man from Jena, placed on 9 April 1982 on the church-owned Johannis Cemetery in Jena a stone sculpture made by himself--secretly and without the required permission. With this action he wanted to express, as he wrote, his sympathy with the suicide of his friend. The authorities obviously saw in this sculpture, 200 kg in weight, a provocation. They had it taken away and "put in a safe place." Five weeks later Blumhagen was told to report to the police. He was informed that the City Council had brought charges against persons unknown because the sculpture, "now in a safe place," had been stolen from "city" coffin storage rooms. It was alleged that Blumhagen, either his friends or he himself, had committed the theft. Blumhagen, however, felt that he himself had been victimized by the theft of his sculpture and he asked--in vain--for compensation from the City of Jena. On 3 June 1982, Blumhagen was called up for army reserve service beginning on 15 June. It was well known at that time, and not only to the appropriate army authorities, that Blumhagen who had completed his basic military training by the summer of 1980 would refuse to serve in the army reserves. But

because this is not permitted in the GDR, it was clear that Blumhagen might be sent to prison if he persisted in his refusal. Consequently, he was arrested on 16 June and taken to detention (pending trial). The old farmhouse in Graitschen near Jena where Blumhagen had lived since 1977 was torn down at the end of July. He himself was at the end of August sentenced to 6 months in prison, was released in the beginning of December 2 weeks before completing his sentence and taken to West Berlin.

Meanwhile, Jena security authorities had gone to work on Blumhagen's friends. On 1 September, transportation worker Roland Jahn was arrested; he had already on several occasions come to the attention of the authorities because of his original ideas. On 31 August, Jahn had ridden his bicycle through Jena holding a Polish flag with the following words written on it: "Solidarity with the Polish people." This gave authorities the chance to take action against this man who until then had represented Blumhagen's interests before the authorities and who also had, in April 1982, placed the death notices for Domaschk in the papers. At the end of September Jahn's friend Manfred Hildebrandt was arrested; he had taken pictures of Jahn's bicycle ride on 31 August and together with Jahn had used these pictures to prepare collages. In connection with the case of Blumhagen, Hildebrandt was suspected of collecting and spreading news "that are apt to damage the reputation of the GDR." He was also accused of having criticized in several of his photos the military education in the GDR. After several interrogations, house searches and confiscations in the homes of friends and acquaintances of Blumhagen, Jahn and Hildebrandt in Jena, Hildebrandt was sentenced to 16 months in prison on 28 December in Gera. Jahn was sentenced to 1 year and 10 months in the middle of January. It had originally been planned that a mention would be made in the speech at the minute of remembering peace on 24 December in Jena, which never materialized, of the two arrested men Jahn and Hildebrandt, and also that the authorities would be reminded of the confiscated sculpture which Blumhagen had erected in memory of the dead Domaschk.

Later on in January, singer Peter Kaehler, painter Frank Rub and auto mechanic Edgar Hillmann were arrested in Jena. Other arrests followed so that by the end of February at least 14 people from the "Jena scene" were in custody. Mentioned by name were: nurse Uwe Behr, washing machine installer Ulrich Schluter, laboratory assistant Petra Falkenberg, heating engineer Michael Rost, laborer Stefan Zieghan, theatre worker David Dulitz, potter Ulrich Greiner-Napp, mechanic Andreas Dietsch as well as the physicist Reinhard Wilfert who was arrested 2 days before he was to defend his dissertation at Jena University. Even though the GDR press agency ADN made the following announcement in its "correspondents' program" in February: "In the GDR, not a single citizen, not one critically-minded artist and laborer, not to mention young people, has been arrested because he works in the interest of peace," the GDR criminal code contains a whole gamut of criminal actions which can be used whenever troublesome, critically-minded or maladjusted citizens are to be "removed." The people in Jena were therefore arrested because of alleged "criminal" offenses.

It must be considered doubtful that Jena authorities will succeed in "drying up the Jena swamp" by such rigorous methods. It can be assumed that in the future too there will be press reports and news of overreactions by authorities in Jena because it can hardly be expected that authorities will use better judgment and more patience in the future in dealing with critically-minded young people who consider themselves in no way "enemies of the state" or "members of an opposition" but rather have simply not renounced individual thinking and want to live a life different from that demanded by the party--in the FRG they would probably be active among the Alternatives and Greens. The situation is most truthfully described by Schiller's saying: "This is the curse of the evil deed that it must continuously give birth to more evil." A relaxation of the situation in Jena could happen only if the circumstances of Matthias Domaschk's death would be fully explained, if Michael Blumhagen's large stone sculpture would reappear and if those arrested were released. But not only the state authorities in Jena have reason to rethink their actions. The same is true about the church. It is almost impossible to understand why the church--which is so proud of the independent peace efforts in which it has been engaged for years in the GDR--has separated itself so strictly from peace activities by young people which, like the minute remembering peace in Jena on Christmas Eve, take place in front of its walls. The conflict between the Church of Thuringia and the independent-minded young people of Jena who feel that they have been deserted by the church was accentuated by a letter sent at the end of January by the press office of the Protestant Church of Thuringia to a correspondent accredited in the GDR. This letter signed by Chief Church Councillor Gottfried Mueller contains the following sentence: "Therefore, there were on 24 December 1982 (Christmas eve) within the city limits of Jena no activities of any kind outside the churches and parish halls for which the church would have to be responsible."¹

This position led to intensive discussions not only within the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR. Eighteen young Christians from Saalfeld and Rudolstadt wrote in an open letter to the church leadership of Thuringia: "We are ashamed of the words of our church leaders."² They criticized the fact that the church leadership did not say anything about the wave of arrests in Jena, and they wrote about those arrested: "In Jena there was no place for them inside the church, and so now they have their place in State Security detention." The 18 signers of the letter also complain that the church leadership is keeping a public silence "in regard to the insults suffered by young Christians and other friends of the 'young congregation' in Jena," who wanted to observe one minute of silence on Christmas Eve, just as much as in regard to the death of Matthias Domaschk. They asked the church leadership of Eisenach to issue a statement and said: "There is a line beyond which silence contributes to guilt."

One day after the publication of this letter in the West, District Bishop Leich of Thuringia said in Eisleben where he attended the opening of the two Luther residences: "We did not receive in Eisenach a letter from Saalfeld and Rudolstadt. And the two superintendents of Saalfeld and Rudolstadt who are very close to youth activities have told us that the young people said on their own initiative that they did not write such a letter and would not

have done so without contacting us personally." Bishop Leich—who is also chairman of the Luther Committee of the Protestant Church in the GDR--added that if individual groups on their own initiative start activities that go beyond the peace efforts of the church, the church could not in retrospect describe this work as church-initiated. In principle, however, the church is also on the side of those people whose motivations and convictions it does not share. This is expressed, however, in direct contact and not in public. "So far we have also seen to it that steps of this kind are not taken by way of Western media and newspapers but rather through direct contact." This does not answer, however, the urgent questions submitted in the letter of the 18 young Christians. It must be hoped that Bishop Leich's position³ is not the last word of the Protestant Church in Turingia.*

FOOTNOTES

1. Published in FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG on 3 Feb 1983
 2. Published in FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG on 17 Feb 1983
 3. Published in FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG on 21 Feb 1983
- * All those arrested are reported to have been released at the end of February (editor's note)

8889

CSO: 2300/186

ECONOMICS CHIEF MITTAG ASSESSED AS POSSIBLE HONECKER SUCCESSOR

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 9-10 Apr 83 p 9

[Article by Helmut Loelhoeffel, editorial board, SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG; datelined "Berlin/GDR, in April": "Speculations About the GDR Leadership--The Man at Honecker's Side: Economics Functionary Guenter Mittag May Possibly Become Successor to SED General Secretary"]

[Text] Erich Honecker has a sprightly, energetic, and for the most part cheerful demeanor when he appears in public. It is true that his speeches sound wooden and he does not seem very agile. But the 70-year-old chairman of the GDR Council of State and SED general secretary looks as fit as a fiddle and is the undisputed "number-one man" in the country. At present there is nothing to indicate an end to his political career, which has carried this man--a native of the Saarland who started out as a skilled roofer--from the office of functionary in the communist youth organization to the highest offices in the GDR. Nevertheless, party functionaries at all levels wonder now and then about what would be likely to happen if something were to befall Honecker or if he had to quit for reasons of age. Most of them speculate that only one person is worth considering as his successor: Guenter Mittag, 56 years old, the highest economics functionary in the GDR.

Mittag almost always goes along when Honecker moves about in the GDR or travels to foreign countries. Not even the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph--this 69-year-old man who is in very poor health--has gone along on all these foreign visits. Economics expert Mittag seems not only to enjoy Honecker's complete confidence, but also to be held in high regard within the entire SED Politburo. The 25-man SED Politburo (average age of the 17 full members--that is, not counting the 8 non-voting candidates: 65 years) is probably much more homogeneous than is often assumed in the West. Many observers view the SED leadership as divided into "doves" and "hawks"--a picture which is not very applicable to the GDR's leading men (the two women in the Politburo have no voting rights).

That is, through a skillful personnel policy--a field in which Honecker is said to be exceptionally talented--the general secretary not only has brought fellow comrades devoted to him into top positions since assuming office almost 12 years ago, but also has included all those who might have mistrusted him and thus has made them obligated to show him loyalty. Thus Honecker let the powerful minister

for state security, Erich Mielke, who has been in this office for 25 years, move up to the Politburo. Honecker's predecessor Walter Ulbricht had kept this man out of this highest party body. There is no question that Mielke (75) as well as Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann (73), Security Secretary Paul Verner (72), and the secretary for culture and ideology, Kurt Hager (71), stand fully behind their leader Honecker in the Politburo.

In the 10-member Secretariat of the Politburo, the decision-making center of the party--to which incidentally Hoffmann and Mielke do not belong--Mittag has a slightly distinguished position. After a number of attempts, the SED secretary for the economy has reorganized the industry of the GDR. The successes which can be inferred from the astonishingly high growth rates are due not least to his firm guidance and leadership. In the international arena as well, Mittag is esteemed as a conversationalist. With his self-assured manner and his straightforward language, he has impressed Bonn politicians such as Helmut Schmidt and Otto Graf Lambsdorff.

To be sure, there are also voices in the party which do not view him as Honecker's possible successor, even though he probably would be Honecker's chosen candidate. Frequently mentioned is the tough SED first secretary of the Berlin party district, Konrad Naumann, although at the same time he is said to have some human failings. There is also talk about the SED district leader from Cottbus, Werner Walde, a rather colorless technocrat. Another social climber is Werner Felfe, former first secretary of the Halle party district, who at present is responsible for agriculture in the Politburo. All three are in their middle fifties and have made their way to the top by the side of Honecker.

Of course, such speculations are not indulged in at party meetings, but only afterwards in the pub. There is no question that Honecker is the unchallenged leader of the party and that at present nobody is in sight who would want to or could trip him up. Meanwhile, as head of state Honecker has acquired so much international prestige and thus has gained so much in self-reliance that nobody can attack him from this direction either. By way of his personnel policy he has secured his position on every side. For years now he has stood at the pinnacle of his power, and he has united in his own person the three top offices--chairman of the Council of State, general secretary of the SED, and chairman of the National Defense Council. He keeps himself fit with fresh-cell treatments and by going hunting. In the opinion of the medical profession, the speech disturbances (tongue paralysis) which could be heard occasionally last year pointed to a circulatory insufficiency, possibly to a mild heart attack. But otherwise Honecker seems to be steadier and sounder than many of the younger associates around him.

An early change in the leadership of the party and the State in East Berlin is probably possible only if the GDR should slip into a crisis because of domestic or foreign convulsions, or if a change should occur in the Soviet Union which has consequences for the countries allied with it. But even in this case, it is unlikely that there would be any alteration of either the foreign or domestic or economic and social-policy course taken by Honecker.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PRECONCEIVED MORALIST NORMS OF 'SOCIALIST PERSONALITY' DEBUNKED

West German Commentary

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 4, Feb 83 p 9

[Report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "GDR Critic Against Discussion of 'Positive Hero.'" A translation of the East Berlin NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] In the GDR monthly NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR [New German Literature], literary critic Guenter Ebert came out against the debate, conducted for quite some time now in the GDR, on the concept of the "positive hero" which so far allegedly "has not yet arrived at a reasonable or at least plausible conclusion." In this connection, Ebert expressed the opinion that this "concept of history was reduced to absurdity because our image of man has become much too differentiated from socialist reality. But the 'positive hero' continues to amble through our literary landscape; of course, he is no longer quite as fresh and lively as on the first day but sometimes he confuses even the smartest people." In Ebert's opinion, a "socialist personality" cannot "be circumscribed with a standard catalogue of positive or negative qualities" because it is supposedly "dominated by the contradiction between the individual and society, regardless of the development stage of its unfolding in which it just happens to be." On the other hand, it supposedly proves "inherent greatness in the mastery of that dialectic which takes place between social discipline and individual self-awareness." Ebert considers this dialectic to be the "most common denominator to which such a category as 'socialist personality' must be reduced to begin with." The concept of "hero" on the other hand supposedly keeps drifting "more and more to the synonym for 'main figure.'"

GDR Critic's Analysis

East Berlin NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR in German Vol 31 No 1, Jan 83 pp 125-131

[Article by Guenter Ebert, literary critic: "Critique and Personality"]

[Text] In one of the choicest epilogues I ever saw--and I am talking about Guenter de Bruyn's "Versuch ueber Friedrich Nicolai" [Experiment on Friedrich Nicolai]--there is also a quote from Fichte: "Anyone who can write a book, will write a book, and not a book review and for book reviews, as a rule, there are only those who cannot write a book: invalids who have fallen behind

their era... and pupils who can assemble a little essay the size of a book review but who cannot draft the outline of a book."

A rather somber swipe. And, as the long-term owner of a book review factory--which is what Fichte called Nicolai's Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek [General German Library]--one would just about have to despair if occasionally one did not only have to draft the outline of a book but could even follow it up and write it. Quite apart from the fact that this malicious dismissal of the current-affairs department of literary criticism stems from times long gone by.

But it was full of horror that I had to take cognizance very recently of the following utterance from a very competent reader: "I have on occasion heard the view according to which some literary critics are supposed to be frustrated writers. On occasion, I might add, I am tempted to deduce, from comments by some writers, including important ones, which are related to politics or to officialdom, that they are 'frustrated politicians.'"

Now, here is a fellow who expresses himself very cautiously, to be sure: He only claims to have heard that...; at any rate, he passes that which he heard on with a cheerful chuckle. For my part, I clearly want to confess this: Yes, I was a frustrated writer for decades. Now I have proved that I am not a eunuch (in other words, somebody knows how it's done but who cannot do it)--and nevertheless I remain in the occupation of the eternally frustrated...

There is something wrong here! With me? I ask. Or with our concept of what literary criticism really is? More specifically: Are critics invalids who have fallen behind their era, helpless pupils or personalities who influence literary progressions, respected (not merely feared) experts in the matter and friends of active poetry? Are they then, when it comes down to it, as literary critics not themselves already writers?

Criticism as an art, its written products as a style of its own, like the essay or the short story? Why not! Alfred Kerr's objects of keen evaluation have been partly forgotten, his writings still read amusingly. Is Stephan Hermlin a frustrated critic because he wrote poems first and then book reviews? If somebody goes the other way, like Christa Wolf or Eva Strittmatter, does this mean that criticism was only a kind of preparatory school for esthetics?

I believe that, under socialism, there should not be any such thing as "frustrated politicians" (and certainly not among writers); because this social system expects of each of its members to be a participating politician so that every participant in the literary society is at least a potential literary critic, provided he has a judgment on his particular reading matter. Whether he expresses his opinion at his favorite table in the beer hall or in a magazine, that of course makes a difference not only in terms of the effort and personal commitment but also in terms of the ability to express oneself cleverly.

Stop! a voice calls from the rear: Let us not readily mix those things up; professional book reviewers remain a rather twilight guild! I will refrain from quoting Goethe as evidence. But I might perhaps try it with Richard

Christ. In conjunction with a casual review on Frank Weymann's "Kein Sterbenswort" [Not a Single Word], he said: "I would not even like to try to stash this novel in one of those easily opened drawers--they would get stuck and that is something which learned criticism may consider a shortcoming."

Whether somebody, in a word, "would want to" and "would not want to," that is left to his own personal sense of style but "learned criticism" must not go unscathed. This of course is meant ironically because the "learned critic" after all only has "easily opened drawers" ready while the unlearned critics are much better. They speak out only when praise is to be given. Critical debate, to the extent that they are not satisfied with commonplace expressions as such, they love to leave to the "learned critic." Now, seriously: Pure praise is no big thing. Or has anybody ever heard that an author--moreover, in public--complained about unjustified praise and would have mentioned fatal details which a book reviewer by mistake failed to notice while making the laurel wreath? But if I totally or on some points dissociate myself from the particular work of art under discussion, then I must work with twice as much care because the author and his friends will watch me most carefully. And who would like to show up exposed already during the next debate?

But let us leave utopia aside: Disputes and debate still are not our strong points. Let us rather turn to the file cabinets which Richard Christ thinks he can avoid. But that is the way life happens to be: At the very start of his casual book review he starts talking about "the seasoned murder mystery reader" whom he must disappoint "because the murders constitute the end and not the beginning of a causal chain so that the tired old game of looking for the trail of somebody and checking out alibis has no meaning."

But if, although rather reluctantly, he did open one of those drawers: Whether you recognize it or not, the murder mystery is a subject for itself. It is not the critics who invented it. And it is mostly the readers who eagerly go back to that shelf. What kind of business would it be if shoe polish were to be filed away next to the butter? And if somebody considers the murder mystery to be a tired little old game, that is his business. I can only marvel time and again that, in spite of such snide remarks, there are famous people who use this particular style to draw positive comparisons.

Lothar Lang: "The fully-packed, three-dimensional descriptions which at the time misled us into current associations (he is talking here about Mikhail Bulgakov's 'The Master and Margarita') are exciting to read, just like a murder mystery." Or Matthias Biskupek in a book review on Chingis Aitmatov's "The Day Goes the Way of the Centuries": "Everything that is told is mutually interrelated so that this reads like a good murder mystery in which you can hardly wait to turn the next page."

In short, I consider such attitudes to be ridiculous: The gesture of abhorrence toward a style which has substance and which does not prevent clever people from considering it respectfully within the context of international literature; just like the coquettish denial of esthetic categories without which one can get along neither in practical life, nor in science. Of course, an understanding of concepts presupposes that one is capable of dialectically explaining one's own surges of sentiment.

That would seem to be the end of my plea for professional book reviewers. They alone, the draymen of daily obligatory reading, are--no matter how inadequately that might work individually--responsible for that public consciousness which alone facilitates sensible cultural policy in the long run.

Of course, criticism must never allow itself to be pushed into the role of a judge and it must never anywhere appear with the assurance of a court. The critic is one reader among many others, a first among equals, a reader who has read more than others, who has better comparison possibilities and--hopefully--has a more solid general education and a more comprehensive knowledge of reality. I would also like to think that the critic should not primarily address the author but rather first of all the reader in order to communicate with him about a reading experience which they had or which is yet to come.

To the extent that such a critic allies himself with his public, he will also become interesting for the author, without having to try especially hard or without having expressly to be worried about his benevolence. Some authors consider criticism as a kind of service enterprise which is supposed to serve them especially; at the same time one again and again runs into contemptuous remarks made by writers against professional reviewers.

Such authors act as if they cared extremely much about the modest judgment of simple readers. But if you take a closer look, you will find that it is always the favor of the public which they speculate on. All of these forms of self-gratification damage only the particular writer, but never criticism as such. One can only smile at certain defensive reactions by those involved.

Erik Neutsch had the following sentences printed: "It was precisely in connection with the last book that voices ranged all the way from nasty swipes to high praise. Finding out why this is so is very difficult for me, as an author. I can explain this merely by saying that those who have less social practice manage to do less with my book, that is of course also those who have too little real life experience; this is why they possibly do not grasp what is being attempted in my books in terms of exposing conflicts in this society and then they are offended by one thing or another."

Here is the simple meaning of this rather long-winded statement: Anybody who does not praise my books from beginning to end, does not understand them and is lacking in real life experience. I consider such opinions--to put it mildly--to be a high-grade short-circuit! And I resolutely am against building up artificial dividing lines which are being drawn between the expert and the layman in art criticism. Here is what Horst Bastian said in a newspaper interview: "Literature scientists would certainly be able to decorate with many foreign words that which boils down to excessively stilted language. This miner made me profoundly aware of the essence of the language of literature with simple words."

Well, I do admit that such sallies are marginal phenomena, measured against another problem which for a long time was considered to be disputed and which now seems to be cleared up at least theoretically: I am talking about the function of the subjective in criticism. There is nothing but subjective criticism

inasmuch as every experience of art is subjective in the strict sense. In reviewing works of art, each individual falls back on his own experiences which cannot be confused with anything else. Even if one starts with the same ideology, the same sex, the same nationality, and the same age in one's reading: The particular experience of art remains unique--even in the history of an individual.

Any attempt to get around this kind of subjectivity in the final analysis will boil down to mere shadow-boxing. A critic who claims to be objective simply misses the esthetic character of art; he neither understood nor even assimilated the work. Yes, do I now hear the question as to: If this is so, then we thus only have subjectivist and perhaps even taste-oriented art judgments?

At this point I might make a remark on taste which we, as critics, love to brand as heresy and which we call downright unserious in conjunction with our work. For the sake of simplicity I will quote a couple of sentences from an excellent essay by Thomas Rietzschel. Here is what he says: "Taste is the expression of the particular cultural consciousness. (...) Taste is not something mystical, it is an explicable product of ideology, artistic education, and psychical disposition. Thus, a judgment based on taste gives relatively precise information about the person making the judgment. If that person combines a humanistic sense of responsibility and historical thinking with extraordinary artistic education, then his subjective judgments can attain a certain degree of objectivity, provided the critic can explain them to himself and to others."

It would seem that our professional creed could not be expressed any more exactly. But to round out this thought: From the Soviet psychologist Rubinstein comes the reference to the effect that one could arrive at the objective only via the subjective. And this is how I see the work of the critic: He analyzes and generalizes his subjective reading experience if he is supposed to present it to the public. And by that I mean it is more honest and also more interesting when the critic--who, after all, at the same time must also be one of the literati, in other words, a wordsmith--does not conceal his subjective experience, specifically, all the way into the, under certain circumstances, squirty, biting, witty term or expression.

And this is where opinions once again differ. In our country too. There are critics (I do not know whether I may speak of a school) who wrote Brecht's "Primacy of Scientific Thinking" on their banner in a entirely too onesided manner. I do not belong to that group although I think highly of science and logical thinking; but when science shrouds itself in rigid garments, when it loses itself in excessively abstract though processes, it drifts away from the esthetic subject which--provided we are concerned with the art of word assembly--should also be treated in a linguistically commensurate form.

A colleague from the scientific guild called me a feuilletonistic critic. If that was intended as an insult, it missed me; I consider the feuilleton to be a method of presentation which is effective among the public, provided it covers brittle matter with elegance and weighty processes with a light approach.

I would say that personal style is a part of your own, recognizable viewpoint. This is the best way to start a conversation with the reader, something without which criticism cannot do its job. The individual critic is nothing. He requires spoken or unspoken communication with his protagonists and the severest bitter debate is still better than cold ignorance which does not at all acknowledge the other critic who has spoken out on the particular book or topic. The individual critic can be wrong and he would be a poor critic if he were afraid of error because then he would be afraid of his own subjectivity. And the resultant comment was merely a rather loose "on-the-one-hand-on-the-other-hand," a grey mishmash which would only confuse the reader instead of guiding him. After all, does not the Bible already say: "Let your speech be yes, yes; no, no. Anything beyond that is evil."

But, all joking aside: Only if I, as a critic, know that many voices are united in a chorus of judgment will I dare correctly to come out with my subjectivity. The truth about a work of art comes not only from the people but also from history because even entire groups of contemporaries can be very wrong, especially when they feel competent. Everybody knows that the sailors on the Armored Cruiser "Potemkin" energetically demanded severe punishment for the director of the world-famous movie by the same name--Sergey Eisenstein--because some of the details in the movie did not correspond to the original scene.

In short: I am pleading for a polemical literary criticism because it is especially the debate which conveys the truth faster than any other method. And on that point, there is much that has to be done by our criticism. Debates such as those between Hermann Kant and Juergen Kuczynski about Erwin Strittmatter's "Wundertäter III" [Miracle Man] are entirely too rare. This kind of literary criticism goes far beyond the narrow esthetic topic; it is, in the best sense of the word, always also criticism of society; it helps toward democratic understanding about general social problems.

Such disputes are broken off entirely too frequently without the discussion having arrived at a reasonable or at least plausible conclusion. I am thinking here, for example, also of the international debate about the concept of the "positive hero." I believe that this concept was reduced to absurdity by history because our image of man has become much too differentiated in socialist reality. But the "positive hero" continues to amble through our literary landscape--of course, he is no longer quite as fresh and lively as he was on the first day but sometimes he confuses even the smartest people.

But there is one thing we should agree on: A socialist personality, regardless from what vantage point it may also be reflected in art, cannot be circumscribed with the help of a standard catalogue of positive or negative qualities. A socialist personality is and remains a dialectical unit, one of the most complicated structures. Regardless of the stage of its unfolding in which it is, it is controlled by the contradiction between the individual and society; on the other hand, it proves its own magnitude through the mastery of that dialectic which takes place between social discipline and individual self-consciousness. I consider this dialectic to be the general denominator to which such a category as "socialist personality" must be reduced, to begin

with. The concept of "hero" keeps drifting more and more toward the synonym for "main character."

As for the rest, character traits as such could hardly be ever contemplated in isolation. Whether they are good or evil, useful or harmless (even such disjunctions in my opinion are crude simplifications) is something that depends on the place, the time, and the internal as well as external mission with which somebody has stepped forward. An aggressive go-getter may be very successful as a construction team member but he may fail miserably as a micro-electronics engineer. Pavel Korchagin, the role model for an entire generation, would be inconceivable as general manager of 20,000-man enterprise.

Enough of these simple examples: Between Franziska Linkerhand and Sonja from Ruth Werner's "Rapport" there are worlds of character and, yet, as literary personalities, they moved vast segments of a uniform public. In this kind of spread, we should speak of the changeability and permanence of man, the discovery of his identity under real socialism: Man's new claim for happiness blasts narrow ethical views, his self-realization is achieved through great production task and at home. In other words: Changing the world means changing oneself. In this way likewise that which is private gets to be extremely closely intertwined with that which is social, just as this unity of contrasts among other things is expressed in the relationship between love and labor.

These stormy movements can be mastered, neither in reality, nor in art, with a rigid and outdated concept apparatus. Better concepts alone are not the decisive thing; the important thing is the personality--last but not least in criticism.

5058

CS0: 2300/196

CONTROVERSIAL POLITICAL SINGER, DINNYES INTERVIEWED

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Mar 83 pp 13-14

[Interview with Jozsef Dinnyes by Ervin Csizmadia: "About the Pol-Beat"]

[Text] In the mid-1960s, due to the effects of no small encouragement from abroad as well as from spontaneous domestic forces, a form of art heretofore nonexistent in our country was created. The first ones to ply it called it folk-beat. When today's individual speaks about pol-beat, perhaps he does not always know that the spawning grounds of political song, which nowadays is slowly reaching adulthood, is the second half of the 1960s, the pairing of the instinctive desire to make music with the need to make a political statement. The singers who nowadays are the hallmark of this form of art generally took their first steps at that time.

Jozsef Dinnyes really stepped before the public in 1967. Ever since he has been one of the most striking--and let's add, most controversial--representatives of the political song. The topic of our discussion is the art form.

[Question] We know the traditions of political singing, and at the same time the appearance of real protest songs is placed only in the early 1960s. Where does the credit belong for the creation of this new independent format?

[Answer] There is no doubt that thorough social and economic changes took place after World War II. But yet, the most important thing for me is this: how did these changes affect the new generation of that time, how did they mobilize it? If the appearance of the protest song had to be tied to names, I would mention Bob Dylan and Pete Seeger. When Dylan said, "Look out, because the times are achanging," he was speaking primarily about himself. I could also put it this way: he was actualizing his own presence. Perhaps he was not calling anyone to go to work or to work on a community project, but he tried to make people aware that we are

together. It is especially important to remember this because until then the hit songs began with "I love you, please come back to me". Neil Sedaka, for example, was a very pleasant singer, only he was not talking about how you and I could perhaps do something together. Dylan and the others wanted to share. I, Bob Dylan, or I, Pete Seeger, am here with you.

[Question] Primarily the serious social contradictions led to the identification of the performers you mentioned with the youth. Against what did these people rebel?

[Answer] Against armament. Against bourgeoisism. But I must right away mention those dead ends which since the beginning diverted some groups of young people who sprung up after Dylan from demanding the true goals. To name just a few: Maoism, Trotskyism, religious fanaticism or waiting for the Redeemer. Then this huge, and politically far from unified, mass wanted to carry out the student revolution.

[Question] How did the movement "come over to" Hungary in the mid-1960s?

[Answer] There was a group of friends in Budapest; its members thoroughly studied the history of the workers' movement and followed attentively the great changes of the century. The political singing group named Gerilla was formed out of these in 1966. That was when the Vietnam war was most destructive. Unfortunately, we were also able to see the people burned by napalm, whom the doctors tried to revive in Hungary. And on television we could see the developments of the war every day. By the way, in my opinion television has done very much to create the antiwar movements, simply by bringing it practically within arm's reach to people living at any point of the world. A new realization stole into the minds of individuals and peoples: the fear that they, too, may at any time get swept up in bloodshed. What earlier did not directly affect people became their own personal concern. This, of course, is how we saw it also. We would have liked to protest and mobilize everything against the war. We got together in Ho Chi Min Park in Buda to sing, and to talk. This common fear, which became coupled with self-expression and with publicizing the liberated form of life, defined our form of life then. It is fully understandable that the movement came to Hungary. It was filled with patterns and ideas which met the desires of the young people in their teens and twenties of that time. There was a happy feeling in everyone that the time has finally come when the earlier restrictions could be cast off.

[Question] What were you doing at that time?

[Answer] I lived in Szeged then. I already had about 15 songs against the war. I wanted to see the Gerillas, so I set out for Budapest. I had no place to sleep, my hair was longer than average, I had a guitar in my hand, I was hitchhiking and I was freer than anyone. And an interesting

thing: by the time I arrived in Budapest I knew that I was not going to sing about Vietnam. I was curious why it bothered the people sitting in the cars that I was free. Freer than they! Why does it bother the policeman that my hair is longer? Why is it a problem if I read a lot, more than others? I wanted to find the answers to these questions in songs. So, there was the Gerilla group singing about the yellow people getting killed. Then came Joe Dinnyes, who sang that there are careerists around us and we are supporting them. Then came Miklos Dolevicenyi, who sang that he gave a flower to a girl who got insulted because of the way he picked the flower with which he wanted to please her. Peter Oroszi asks in one of his songs why doesn't anybody pick him up in their cars, since "we are no worse, only we don't look like you". This was in early 1967.

[Question] What happened after you arrived in the capital city? How did the political singing movement develop?

[Answer] That same year there was a KISZ congress where a political song contest was announced. In March an article was published in the IFJUSAGI MAGAZIN about the Gerillas, Dolevicenyi and myself. Then there was a very important conversation in the headquarters of the KISZ Artists Group where we met with composers, politicians and the national representatives of KISZ. I think the existence of this art form can be calculated from here. This was when the national organs accepted that we exist, and beyond this we also want to say something. The gala evening of the competition announced by the congress was held on 31 March in the Vig [Happy] Theater. I must say that for us this gala evening remained a bitter memory because we felt that we had been taken advantage of. That is, at that time we had no operating permit yet, so that we were amateurs, who were separated from the professionals. We were naive and we did not understand how those who had nothing to do with reality could also get there. It was also unpalatable for us that there was a sharp line of separation between them and us. We thought that when we say the name of Che Guevara, the other person thinks the same thing. We found out that when we sang about Che Guevara they thought we are anarchists, that we want to go into the woods and shoot with guns at those who think differently from us. Indeed, there were even those who suspected us of being agitators and against socialism.

[Question] Let's try to summarize it: what did it mean to be a "rebel" in Hungary in the second half of the 1960s?

[Answer] This era is often overevaluated. In my opinion the rebellion manifested itself merely in speaking and even fighting about such things and for such things which we already have today. The fact that I wore long hair and even spoke up in defense of it was considered concentrated political action. Let's just consider it: our generation has not only defined new forms of behavior but--and this is inseparable from it--it has also produced people who renewed practically all branches of art. What this generation has accomplished was not covered by that well-known definition that this era was characterized by the wandering type. This is only one aspect of the matter, because the wandering man can also become a man who visits many places, who sees and senses things and who is much more open to the world than the so-called consolidated man.

[Question] How did the relationship between the art form and Jozsef Dinnyes develop in the early 1970s?

[Answer] The lifestyle I developed earlier continued. I traveled a lot. This form of art is such--I would especially emphasize this--that it provides the opportunity also for the most complete freedom and directness. In addition, the true meaning of the political singer's vocation is to inform, to enlighten and to provide a report about real life and consciousness. Unfortunately, since the club movement came under council supervision, the face of the clubs has changed. In contrast with the old club format, the program-centered clubs took hold. The very thing that is indispensable in the relationship of performer and audience has gotten lost this way. Very rarely does the opportunity present itself anymore for such thinking together, and even creating together, in the way my song, for example, which begins with "Pure spring nice word" originated. The one-time clubs have become club rooms where they put up the sign: Jozsef Dinnyes is coming tonight. This situation characterized the 1970s.

[Question] What characterized the first half of the 1970s within pol-beat's area?

[Answer] By then for the most part a hard political action line was developed, a trend to set verse to music developed, and a broader group of folk music practitioners came into existence. Of course there were and there are also other directions, but I consider the three I mentioned as the most important ones. If we tie them to names, the leaders are Janos Vas, the Kalaka and Ferenc Sebo. In spite of the fact that the above-mentioned polarization occurred, the process was by all means useful and necessary; the strata which in one performer's program would perhaps be confusing were separated from each other. The fact that, for example, Feri Sebo's group tried to discover the effects of the Balkan's cultures on each other, not only brought poetry closer to the people but perhaps also taught many people to think in terms of peoples and nations. And again, I would like to emphasize that those individuals and groups which expanded the contents of art forms in the 1970s, practically without exception, started out from the political song. The Sebo group polarized by digging out the eternally valid characteristics which are concealed in cultures. Perhaps I need not even say this; this is a task for which even a lifetime is not enough.

[Question] Not only has the form of art but the youth also become polarized since the early 1970s. Does it represent a new task to be a political singer in this situation?

[Answer] In spite of the fact that pol-beat itself is slowly taking over the position in festive commemorations the Pioneers used to have, the fundamentals of my task cannot change. In all my life I felt that the singer must also be something of an example. My task is not only to have an effect on those who come to see me on a superficial level, but also to show the deeper depths of our consciousness to them. That is why I said that I miss the old clubs where not only could I exert an influence on those present but also they on me.

[Question] How much has the present youth changed in comparison with the youth of the 1960s?

[Answer] A tremendous amount. A few months ago after a performance a kid came to me and asked me to sing about the Iran-Iraq war. I asked him why I should not sing about what is going on around him, what is happening with him. "Because nothing can be done anyway" came the answer. To me the moral of such conversations is that a significant portion of today's 16-20 year olds does not have faith in the freedom of speech. They cannot decide whether it exists or not.

[Question] Poetry has always had a definitive role in your programs. How is it possible to define everyday thoughts in the language of present-day Hungarian lyrics?

[Answer] It is also an important endeavor of mine to call attention to those values of Hungarian literature which were born beyond our borders. This is why I keep on my program poems from the works of Hungarian poets living in Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Without trying to give a complete list, let me just mention a few names. Among the Hungarian poets living in Czechoslovakia I like Sandor Gal, Arpad Tozser, Lajos Zs. Nagy and Ferenc Kulcsar the best, and among the Hungarians living in Rumania, primarily the works of Domokos Szilagyi, Sandor Kanyadi and Arpad Farkas keep me busy. From the domestic Hungarian poets as well as from the ones living abroad, I relay those poems which, instead of examining life's most minute phenomena, in some way define questions of fate. They examine the present of one homeland, one nation, one human community.

[Question] How is your relationship shaping up with those leaders on whom the judgment of the art form also depends?

[Answer] The political art forms, poetry, news reporting, as well as the political song format want to develop the tendency toward and ability for dialogue in adults as well as in young people. With my political behavior I have reached the point where I can speak with the nation's leaders. But this is a personal matter for me. What I am doing (and what many others are also doing besides me) is truly useful and progressive if it entices young people also to rack their brains about how could they get into a conversation with "power." Of course, what we are talking about is not that everyone must look up the country's leaders but much rather that a student studying in high school wants to find the way to enter into conversation with his teachers. Because this is how a student thinks: there are ten teachers teaching me; I like three of them. This means--of course, in a very oversimplified way--that his conversational relationship with "power" is at 30 percent. But if I visit this school, and one of those teachers introduces me whom the child does not like, but he takes a liking to me, it may happen that he will also get to like his teacher, and his relationship will increase to 40 percent. What I would like to do with all this is not enough for me to sing well and have wonderful words for the songs. This may even be enough for success, but the human effect is much more important. And human effect can only be exerted and expected at all when the performer is present not only as an artist but also as an individual.

[Question] Perhaps not everyone knows that you are a member of the Trade Union of Free-lance Performing Artists. For what you are doing, this very personal freedom is necessary....

[Answer] I am one of those fortunate people who could do very early what they liked. Personal freedom is a very good thing, but it is only a tool. The direction which I represent could not be maintained over a long period in any other way. Thus relative freedom is a tool which exists in the interest of being able to be present in the most diverse locations of the country and to help where I can. I could just arrive strictly by the start of the performance and come home right after it. But my wife knows that I am still there the next morning because I went to sing in a kindergarten, or that I am talking with KISZ members in some school, or that perhaps I went over to see a poet living nearby, or that even I am quarreling with the local council about something. Often it happens that I can give lectures. It is a very good feeling that I can do all this.

[Question] Our social and human problems have become more difficult in the last 15 years. How do these changes manifest themselves in the words of your songs?

[Answer] Many things have come forward in recent years. The question of national awareness is also one of these. Songs dealing with freedom are being given a big role. Everyone can see it around themselves, and perhaps even on themselves; people are afraid to open their mouth. And when they do open it, they often experience failure. Encouraging thinking to form opinions must also be somewhere among my tasks. But neither I nor anyone else can fill the voids generated during the course of living together in a society.

[Question] What do you expect from the decade of the 1980s?

[Answer] Once people find out where they live and what values they produce, something will certainly begin. Many more people should concern themselves professionally (but not only during their working hours) with awakening the needs which are still missing today, and with the education of the people in general. I would like if the distrust so characteristic of our days could be eliminated. To stay on my own turf, I would like to organize good clubs, where there will be opportunities for debates and for community actions. I have a plan for 1983 to visit all the homeroom teachers' class periods in the vocational schools. Of course, I will continue to travel in the country and I will continue to sing. The most important thing is to preserve credibility for the audience as well as for myself, to continue to be present and to be able to be present where they are glad to have me.

8584

CSO: 2500/194

JELENIA GORA PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Comments of Reports-Programs Conference Delegate

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Feb 83 p 2

[Interview with Wiktoria Juchniewicz, Turow Power Plant delegate to PZPR Conference, by Halina Szegzda: "Concerns of the Entire Workforce Are Close to Our Hearts"]

[Text] Wiktoria Juchniewicz is a Turow power plant specialist for delivery completion, functioning also as the divisional party organization's first secretary and member of the PZPR plant committee and provincial committee. She was elected Bogatynia region electricians' delegate to Jelenia Gora Province Reports-Programs Conference.

[Question] At the Turow plant and in the urban-gmina district, you have had your reporting conferences and now you are preparing for the provincial conference. How did your plant's party organization do in the past period?

[Answer] Our unit had its ups and downs, but the period was constructive because of the progressing spontaneous purification of party ranks. Those who could not take the psychological pressure--some 80 persons--have dropped out. Currently, the plant unit numbers 418 members who want to work vigorously to benefit society and their community.

[Question] The "Turowszow cul-de-sac" is a highly industrialized area.

[Answer] We have problems which are hard to tackle, and provincial authorities are not always able to help. Two years ago, the present minister for trade union affairs, Stanislaw Ciosek, said that ours was a land forgotten by God and man. This is true. Some examples: our party unit, together with the area party organization, are now handling trade problems. There is no WPHW [Provincial Enterprise For Domestic Trade] in Bogatynia. In consequence, allotments of goods for the town are regularly lost. A solution must be found. Another, seemingly trifling matter, frequently raised during sessions: trains on the Wroclaw-Bogatynia route finish their runs at Turowszow station, so that it is necessary to walk to Bogatynia several

kilometers at night. Housing construction: unless city-funded and cooperative construction starts, it will be impossible to assure adequate medical care, educators, and other specialists for Bogatynia. For power specialists like ourselves, it is beyond belief that the Zatonie power plant has been dropped from investment plans.

[Question] How is your plant party unit handling this difficult period?

[Answer] It has found its proper place, in my opinion. To be sure, there have been divisions and conflicts, but, as party mentors, we are in close contact with the workforce and we solve many problems with the participation of individuals having different views. Power specialists are an occupational elite, proud of their work. This feeling has been decisive in the plant's uninterrupted operation, so that power-generating machinery never stopped.

[Question] Martial law has made the party confront new tasks.

[Answer] We began to deal with concerns of not only ideological but, for the most part, of a human nature and we have been solving them to the extent possible. We are impatiently awaiting a repeal of the plant's militarized status because we want to establish an employee self-governing body. We have already registered our trade union which is receiving moral support from the party.

[Question] Your plant organization ranks among the dynamic ones. What initiatives have you launched recently?

[Answer] We set in motion a number of concerns with occupational health and environmental protection. These issues are constantly the focus of our attention. In league with the management, we have developed employee performance evaluation report sheets, and again, on our initiative and assisted by the management, training sessions on the economic reform were conducted. Plant committee representatives participate in the operations of the plant team for economic reform. Moreover, Turow power plant is a consultant plant, that is, it participates in assessments of draft laws connected with economic reform.

[Question] How about employee concerns?

[Answer] On the plant committees' initiative, principles have been worked out for a policy aimed at creating a reserve cadre. In practical terms, the effort centers on the selection among the workforce of persons expected to man responsible positions who at first function as deputies and are given training. Our concern is with improving the qualifications and prestige of midlevel supervisors and managerial cadre.

[Question] What are your organization's plans?

[Answer] The plant committee's operational plans have been outlined by the resolution of the plant conference. We are focusing on implementation of motions and suggestions contained in the resolution. As far as party

discipline is concerned, training sessions are in preparation for secretaries and lecturers, and an ideological education system has been developed for party candidates and recent members. A sizable group of comrades attend WUML classes.

Comments of Jerzy Gruszka on Conference

Worclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by (bob): "Talking With Delegates. Find a Suitable Model For Teacher Training"]

[Text] Jerzy Gruszka teaches history and introductory philosophy in the Stefan Zeromski Combined Secondary Schools in Jelenia Gora. He is PZPR member since 1953, POP secretary, and member of PZPR city committee executive board in Jelenia Gora.

My position as delegate to the provincial conference will be fairly complicated, since I participated in the previous conference as a member of its commission for motions. This time, I will attentively follow the PZPR Provincial Committee report on the status of implementation of the resolution made a year and a half ago. If renewal is to be genuine, we must have mutual checks and accounting. I believe that the conference will update the previous resolution. Certain elements of that resolution should be reformulated because a lot of time has gone by and the ranking of needs has changed.

The most important at this time for me, a party member and activist in the ideological front, is to achieve a clear-cut ideological situation in our ranks. For example, the silence about an ideological programmatic declaration appears incomprehensible to me. I believe that the lack of such a document is a drawback in current political work.

I am a teacher, very much concerned about the problems of the teaching community, especially about finding the right model for teacher training. After all, 30,000 employed educators lacking teacher qualifications present a major problem nationwide (there are more than 400 of them in Jelenia Gora Province). It is also necessary to carry out sensible modifications in instructional programs, based on the assumption that schools are meant for the average students. The basis for developing curricula should be the following principle: it is better to teach less and properly than to teach a lot with poor results. I am disturbed by the status of implementation of the Teacher's Charter, an issue of overriding importance for us. I am referring here, among other things, to wages, and to possibilities to retire after 30 years' work. Many other questions are unclear as well. Of course the conference will not resolve such doubts, but it should, I believe, make an attempt on the basis of existing possibilities to solve the problem of preparation of our province's high school graduates for work in the educational system.

Comments of Adam Herzog on Conference

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 10 Feb 83 p 2

[Interview with Jelenia Gora conference delegate Adam Herzog, by Halina Szegzda: "Confidence About PZPR Increases"]

[Text] I am having a conversation with delegate to Jelenia Gora PZPR Conference Adam Herzog, division chief for operations and services of Famago Open-Pit Mining Machinery Plant in Zgorzelec, plant committee party secretary and provincial committee member.

[Question] You have functioned as plant secretary for 2 years now, comrade. It was a difficult period for the party and party membership. How did you do, muddling through this period?

[Answer] Since April 1981, the plant organization was reduced by a total of 60 members and candidates. Currently, our 6 divisional organizations have a total of 180 party members, workers for the most part--60 percent, the remainder are engineering and technical personnel. After the imposition of martial law, party cards were turned in by only 8 individuals. In 1981 and in 1982 hardly a meeting was well-attended. At the time, we conducted individual conversations with members, which resulted in another 13 persons voluntarily leaving our ranks.

[Question] What has Famago's plant PZPR organization been primarily concerned with in the most recent period?

[Answer] Our activities were dominated by economic reform, especially in its economic and organizational aspect. We intend to acquaint all of our employees with its principles, utilizing various approaches to that effect: general, divisional party meetings and production meetings. At the request of the plant committee executive board, we made it binding upon the management to train employees who are decisionmakers in the area of production. A graphic tabular display, accessible to all employees, is also of major significance for the plant.

[Question] What initiatives of your organization are worthy of note?

[Answer] The PZPR plant committee and the management proposed the establishment of a social commission in early January 1981. Our steady contact with the commission, along with regular assessment of its operation, have helped us to solve many social problems of our workforce. Party members composed 50 percent of the commission. Nearly 20 percent of PZPR plant organization members are in the new labor unions.

[Question] How about employee concerns?

[Answer] Recently, we have been working on improving the role of wages as incentives. Last year, our workforce produced resources enabling us to put

the Council of Ministers resolution number 135 into effect.

[Question] What can you credit among your achievements, and what are the causes of difficulties for your organization?

[Answer] We are regaining people's confidence. The proof is in increasing numbers of people who come to the plant committee with various problems. We help in resolving conflict and moderating difficult situations. As stipulated by our workforce, we took our case concerning supply to the PZPR city committee and to PSS Spolem (at issue were afternoon deliveries to the stores). Thanks to a joint action with the social commission we now have a decently supplied plant canteen. People come to us not only in personal (apartments, change of job slot) but also in general matters (esthetic outlook of the city, lack of subarchitectural elements in residential developments, and deliveries of supplies). As follow-up, we arrange for meetings of our workforce with city authorities and resident self-governments. Among our difficulties, a ranking one is the passivity of some party members who have adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

[Question] What will be the plant organization's focus of activities this year?

[Answer] Fulfilling the assumptions of 1983 technical and economic plan will be a major task. We will also handle the plant's housing policy and summer recreation for the workforce. We will also evaluate our managerial personnel, wage levels following implementation of the Council of Ministers resolution number 135 and activities of social organizations within the plant.

12199

CSO: 2600/557

KIELCE PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Political Atmosphere, Living Conditions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 6 Jan 83 pp 1, 6

[Article by b]

[Text] The conference yesterday in Skarzysk concluded the PZPR reports campaign in the towns and rural communities of Kielce Province. Before the start of the conference, honored activists were awarded commemorative medals on the occasion of the centenary of the workers' movement. The following persons received medals: Henryk Glejzer, Wladyslaw Walczyk, Julian Nowak, Julian Szumielewicz, Jan Figarski, Leszek Jakubczyk, and Tadeusz Kuczynski.

The conference, which was chaired by Andrzej Watek, first secretary of the Town Committee of the PZPR, included the following participants: Maciej Lubczynski, member of the Central Committee of the PZPR and first secretary of the Provincial Committee; Ignacy Drabik, member of the Central Committee of the PZPR and senior foreman at "Predom-Mesko"; Tadeusz Sadura, delegate to the PRL Sejm; Eugeniusz Cichon, secretary of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR; and Zbigniew Nowak, deputy governor of Kielce Province.

The main topic of the meeting was the political atmosphere and the living and work conditions of the residents of this industrial town.

The party town organization in Skarzysk presently has 6,110 members, the great majority of whom are workers. Since May 1981, 760 persons have left the party. The actions undertaken by the Town Committee and the basic party organizations are directed toward restoration of confidence and ties with the working class, toward stabilization of production, and toward economic reform. It has been found that the effectiveness of a town committee is dependent on the activities of its basic organizations. Unfortunately, in some POP's there is still a division between active and passive party members. It is our urgent task, therefore, to involve people in the struggle for the ideological identity of the party, to consolidate its forces and to reestablish the credibility of all POP's and members.

In the majority of industrial plants--in "Mesko", the "Kamienna" Foundry and the shoe factory--the output is beginning to increase. More and more is being produced for the needs of the market and for export. However, counteractions against such phenomena as wasteful use of manufactured goods and raw materials, overstaffing in management, and the spiraling contractual prices on certain products are still ineffective.

The town itself has various investment, housing and social problems affecting its future development. The construction works is not fulfilling its plans. It is building 40 percent less than several years ago. The construction of the central heating plant is dragging on. It is not supposed to be operational until 1984. There are problems with the expansion of the heating system. The telephone exchange, which had been under construction for several years, finally went into its first phase of service this year with 650 subscribers. The much-needed storage facility for 1,000 tons of potatoes and vegetables has not been finished in time. A pleasant exception is the new mechanical bakery, which the Kielce Enterprise for Industrial Construction built with exemplary skill and efficiency. Construction of the large railroad hospital has finally begun. The project will take 58 months to complete.

This year, there will be a marked increase in construction of apartment houses as well as single-family dwellings. New, small housing cooperatives will appear in the town. Construction of a nursery and an elementary school with a kindergarten is anticipated. There is a good chance that the town will get an indoor school swimming pool and a sports hall like the one recently received by the residents of Koneskie.

In the discussion, much was said about the vexing, exorbitant contractual prices on certain articles and about the profiteering of some agents and craftsmen. There were demands that a fair system of income control be set up. There was a discussion of issues affecting young people and of the party's tasks after the suspension of martial law.

The following remarks are taken from the speech delivered by Maciej Lubczynski:

"Regardless of the difficulties and troubles we are still experiencing, and regardless of criticism of our past actions, we can map programs for our future operations. Although the party is numerically weaker, it is able today to perform its leading role in society in a proper manner, perhaps even in a better manner. We can already credit it with the increasingly higher outputs achieved at 'Mesko' and at the 'Kamienna' Foundry. Party members there have been doing excellent work in social committees that have closely analyzed production possibilities and production costs..."

"Through our actions, supported by the men in uniform, we have defended the identity of the socialist state. The year that has just begun will continue to be difficult for us. Today it is facts that count. Our actions and initiatives will determine the future. One of the most important tasks

of party members today is to increase social and professional activity and to strengthen party unity. We must win society's support for our party's program. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the self-government bodies and the new trade unions will be helpful to us in this. It is easier to fight together against social ills--thefts, abuses, speculation. Joint action will enable us to educate our young people better. We must not leave the upbringing of youth to others. There are some who say that young people should be taught by the family, the school, and the army. I believe that we party members must rub shoulders with the young every day and instill social activism and commitment in them."

Assessment of Party Strengths, Weaknesses

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 10 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Tadeusz Maryniak]

[Text] Careful observation of the meetings and reports conferences that recently ended in the PZPR basic organizations and echelons in Kielce and Radom Provinces makes it possible to evaluate both the strengths and weaknesses of the party. What was the party's assessment of its situation?

The provincial reports-program conferences should provide a detailed and complete picture of this assessment. In this article, however, I would like only to offer a few reflections on the most recent period of party work.

In writing about the successes and failures of party activity, it is a good idea to take a look back at the beginning of the term of the present government. We should remember not only the democratic elections and the candid discussion of the party's program and style of work, but also the growing influence exerted on the basic organizations and members of the PZPR by people and groups ideologically alien to socialism and by the idea of national understanding arising at that time. It was a period when not only the supporters of socialist revival were voicing their opinions, but also political charlatans and rabid enemies of the party.

It is true that some comrades then did not come through. Many succumbed to the influences and pressures of the "Solidarity" leadership. A large part of the POP's and members of the PZPR silently awaited a change in the social and political situation, a change that commenced only with the decisions of 13 December 1981. These were perhaps the most important reasons why the new authorities--the ones "with clean hands", as people said at the time--could not cope with the burgeoning disorganization of work, lack of discipline, and attacks on the ideological principles of socialism. Only a small number of party organizations and members adequately resisted the forces of anarchy with their work and position.

Proclamation of martial law in the country curbed the threatening activities of antisocialist forces and freed many people, including party members, from the demagogic pressure deliberately created by incessant propaganda actions and dissemination of leaflets. For many party organizations this

was the beginning of a period of recovery and normalization of work, self-assessment, and definition of the positions of all comrades.

These factors and events obviously determined the activities of party organizations and echelons in the first part of the term. They should be kept in mind so that the evaluation that is being made will be honest and fair.

The party in the Kielce region, despite the fact that its membership declined by 10,009, weathered the difficult period quite well. It presently has almost 78,000 members and candidates. The PZPR provincial organization in Radom, which now numbers about 40,000 comrades, is likewise in good shape. Although it lost 6,947 members and candidates during the reports period, it had enough strength to lead in the process of revival. Conferences and meetings in the POP's and OOP's are being held more regularly, thanks to the endeavors of echelon executive boards, groups of party activists, and regional centers for party work established late in 1981. The system of intraparty information has been changed and expanded. Many PZPR basic organizations are playing a bigger role in workplaces and communal residences; as a result, normalization of the economy in plants and enterprises is progressing well. The fact that the decline in membership in the PZPR has been halted is further proof of the establishment of the party's authority in many circles. In the reports period, during the attacks on the party, 345 persons in Kielce Province and 139 in Radom Province joined its ranks, primarily young people up to the age of 39.

Despite obvious changes in the work of the party and in society's attitude to its intentions and undertakings, there still exist disturbing problems that are greatly delaying the process of complete normalization and implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR. These weaknesses were discussed at many meetings and reports conferences. They should be eliminated from party operations in the second half of the present term.

The problems and weaknesses that worry the PZPR leadership and rank-and-file members are many. For understandable reasons, they are somewhat different in each POP and echelon. I would like to mention three of them here. I believe that they are fairly widespread and are manifestly hindering the efforts of many organizations to establish authority and regain strength.

One of the serious shortcomings in the work of many POP's is lax party discipline. To be sure, discipline is good in the large urban echelons and factory organizations. There is a disturbing laxity, however, in the work procedures of rural organizations and party groups in industrial plants --a fact pointed out at reports conferences in Chmielnik, Lopuszna, Pacanow, Rakow, Pinczow, Suchedniow, Grojec, Ilza, Mogielnica and Zwolen. Many comrades skip meetings and pay their dues late. At the conferences it turned out that in some communal and town echelons there were comrades who participated in plenary sessions and committee activities very irregularly. If only for this reason, they cannot be entrusted with constant supervision of any POP or OOP. Owing to a lack of discipline, some rural organizations did not hold even the reports conferences until the second term.

The second disturbing problem is the ineffectiveness of POP's in offices and institutions in settling complaints and grievances. Even an outsider can see the growing interest of party echelons in the proposals, complaints, and observations of citizens. This is undoubtedly the result of efforts made after the Central Committee's ninth plenum and of the changing positions and activity of representatives of the party apparatus. The echelons, secretaries and committees receive many petitioners. Last year the PZPR Provincial Committee in Kielce received over 1,000 people with complaints and requests for interventions, and in addition considered 1,371 letters and grievances. The Radom echelon received 559 letters and saw 957 citizens with their troubles and complaints. During this same time the local committees in the Kielce region received over 7,700 petitioners, and the local committees in Radom Province, over 12,000. People with complaints and grievances, however, are almost always received by party echelons, not by basic organizations. The numerous complaints and proposals sent to party committees are evidence of inefficient or downright poor work by management in plants and offices. It turns out that a petitioner coming with his request to an echelon often did not have an opportunity or simply did not want to speak to the secretary or manager of his institution about his problem. The POP's are still dealing with these matters quite irregularly, and they are obviously missing opportunities to bolster their prestige.

Finally, the third weakness of some POP's and local party echelons results from a lack of systematic collaboration with political parties and social organizations. The newly emerging movement for national understanding and cooperation, though faced with difficulties, is finding nearly unanimous support for its social goals in every region of Poland, including Kielce and Radom Provinces.

Tens of thousands of people representing various parties and organizations, in hundreds of committees for national rebirth, are striving to bring about normalization and eliminate problems and anxieties. While I view this rising movement favorably, I must call attention to the fact that in many rural areas there are party communal organizations that are not in the habit of meeting and collaborating with ZSL [United Peasants' Party] and ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] circles. If in the provincial towns and larger urban centers PZPR collaboration with fraternal parties and youth organizations is yielding more and more joint initiatives, in some villages the POP secretary and ZSL president still have neither the time nor the opportunity to confer. This is unfortunate both for the goal of national understanding and especially for the residents of those communities.

Secretary Marian Orzechowski's Speech

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 83 p 2

[Text] As we mentioned, comrade Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the Central Committee, participated in the discussion at the Provincial Reports Conference of the PZPR in Kielce. Below we present the text of his speech.

The Provincial Reports-Program Conference in Kielce is a perfect opportunity to review the party's record. This record includes not only the achievements of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, but also martial law as an unavoidable necessity. Now that martial law has been suspended--not rescinded but suspended, for certain aspects of the political crisis persist--one can say that it has had a lasting effect on the party and the nation. The memory of the dramatic circumstances under which it had to be imposed, and the results of its implementation, will influence social consciousness and people's attitudes and actions. Our experiences will serve as an object lesson to all communists, to other parties, that socialism is never built anywhere without a struggle. We made this difficult decision independently and in compliance with the law.

We should also remember that at the most difficult moment in its history the party did not cease implementing the social and political goals of the Ninth Congress, nor did it abandon the program for socialist revival. By participating in these events, we have gained new experiences along with knowledge and strength. Thanks to this we have recovered from defeats and setbacks. What we call the strengthening of socialism and the consolidation of its forces on the basis of marxist-leninist ideology is no longer a pious wish today. The results of the party's reports campaign are proof that we are building a strong and wise party.

What are the main factors accounting for the success of party policies? First, the conviction of the working class, of millions of toilers, that socialism has not failed. Distortions of it cannot be allowed to occur again, for only they turn people away from socialism. Second, the truth of the political program that the party has worked out in discussions--the program of the Ninth Congress. Consistency and decisiveness in implementing it are the only way to extricate the country from the crisis and to achieve socialist reform. We should all be conscious of this fact.

We should also be conscious of our goals and the difficulties involved in accomplishing them. We must not forget for a moment that we shall not resolve all our Polish problems in a vacuum. Enemies of socialism and enemies of our state really exist, and their initiatives and actions taken against us are real too. They are the ones trying to implant the idea of the "lost generation" in the minds of our youth. They are the ones calling for "internal emigration" and "fronts of rejection", thereby discrediting our policies. These are not the only methods of fighting the party and socialism. The situation is all the more difficult in that we have to live with our adversaries under the same roof. In our actions we are guided by the Ninth Congress's resolution, which is a program for struggle and understanding. The struggle is merciless. In it, we say unwaveringly: Everyone can be with us; the only adversary is the person who wants to be one.

In 1983 we face many difficult social and economic tasks. We must have a role in forming socialist trade unions. This is our party obligation. Let us not be ashamed when we are reproached for establishing "red trade unions." What are they supposed to be--antisocialist? Let us be aware that a tacit referendum is being held for the allegiance of the working class.

We can never lose the struggle for the working class, for its socialist consciousness. A no less important problem is workers' self-government and the laborious process of restoring it in many enterprises. It is not good when we consider workers' self-government from the viewpoint of economic needs or--as is still happening--from the viewpoint of plant operation and management. Workers' self-government is neither a limitation nor a luxury for the management in running an enterprise. Self-government is a political issue of major significance. By creating genuinely socialist self-government, we make the working class the true owner of the means of production, the leader and governor of society. The party must win the struggle for such a working class. This is the PZPR's most important mission.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth must also be included in this sphere of party interests and activities. PRON is a great opportunity to rally most of society around the idea of understanding and the entire program of the Ninth Congress; it is also an opportunity to establish the credibility of political and state decisions. PRON holds out great promise as a forum for the exchange of political opinions and proposals for reforming the state and reviving the nation. Party members must engage in discussions on the PRON program during the campaign prior to the congress. In this campaign we ought to realize what we can and should do with our own resources, and how we can help people whom no one can help. By pondering such problems as these, we lead society and serve it. Our task is to combine the functions of leadership and service.

Formidable economic problems confront us. We must bring home to all party members and all citizens, especially those embittered by their straitened circumstances, the fact that economic reform is a great opportunity to overcome material difficulties. Political adversaries both here and abroad have "informed" Poles that this very reform and the method of implementing it are the cause of our material difficulties. Such a false view must always be resisted. Our problems are due not to economic reform but to the crisis. Only through economic reform can we extricate ourselves from the economic crisis. This year we must also make extra efforts in the area of production so that economic troubles will not negate our political achievements.

The tasks facing us are enormous. In order to cope with them we must be ideologically united and organizationally strong. We must be a party of social justice and conduct ourselves in such a manner that no one, no Pole, will have any doubts on this score. We must also be a party of realism and knowledge; with this knowledge, we must explain to others that not everything can be accomplished today or this year.

At the forthcoming Twelfth Plenum the Central Committee will answer a number of questions that are of interest to the party. These include: methods of more effective political and organizational work; new and more effective ways to combat political adversaries; the struggle to inculcate a desirable ideology in the younger generation; and the party's guiding role and methods of leadership. We see more clearly than ever before that lucid political concepts and the positions of party members will determine how we resolve

our problems. At the plenum we shall also present the report on the party discussion concerning the draft of the ideological statement, "What are we fighting for, and where are we headed?" The discussion was very productive. The party needs this document as a collection of ideological principles and programmatic guidelines. It will help us to advance continually on our chosen path.

12277

CSO: 2600/490

SUWALKI PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Assessment of Residential Construction

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 28-29-30 Jan 83 p 2

/Article by (m): "In Suwalki"/

/Text/ (From our own correspondent) At the meeting of the PZPR Executive Board in Suwalki, the accomplishment of tasks in housing construction for 1982 was evaluated, and participants were familiarized with information on the progress of construction work on a voivodship hospital.

Last year in Suwalki 2,725 dwellings with a combined surface area of 175,700 square meters were delivered for use, thereby implementing 9.6 and 94.1 percent, respectively, of the tasks in the annual plan. These results put the voivodship in nineteenth place in Poland.

In socialized housing construction for the nonagricultural population, the voivodship plan for 1982 called for the delivery of 2,101 dwellings. But 1,843 dwellings were received from the builders and placed on the market. Tasks were not implemented in Suwalki, Augustow, and Wejsuni, among other places. The low level of accomplishment of tasks in Suwalki is the cause of, among other things, the inadequate organization and coordination of work by investors and builders, and also the lack of potential for finishing work in the local building enterprise. There also were difficulties obtaining finishing materials during the plan's implementation. The members of the Executive Board also pointed out the irregularity of construction work. The results from last December, when 32 percent of the entire annual plan was accomplished, attest to this irregularity.

The urgent need for the development of private construction also was emphasized. For this to happen, assistance is needed from the Voivodship Office in the area of assigning lots and assuring construction materials. It also was proposed that planned houses fulfill all aesthetic and functional requirements. It also was moved that a housing cooperative be formed to accelerate construction by turning over unfinished, roughed-in dwellings to prospective tenants.

To assure the accomplishment of the plan in 1983, we must draw personal conclusions regarding the persons who were at fault and were the cause of the lack of implementation of substantive tasks in 1982. A review of investors' services also must be carried out. Other activities also have been undertaken, among other things, standardization of the system of construction materials supply which considers supply independently of the builders' ministerial affiliation. Moreover, the balance of needed materials was presented to the Ministry of Construction. The Voivodship Office is supposed to conduct checks of building sites and to draw conclusions without delay.

When the state of implementation of hospital building complexes in Suwalki was discussed, it was acknowledged that there was considerable progress in this construction work last year. The rate of construction of these complexes shows that construction and assemblage work will be completed by the end of 1983. Significant improvement was found in the collaboration between the chief builder, which is Budopol in Pisz, and the investor. The materials situation also has improved. But there continue to be difficulties assuring the appropriate number of workers. The Executive Board expressed its thanks to the work forces for their good work in 1982.

Suwalki Party Status

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 5-6 Feb 83 p 3

/Article by Ryszard Klimaszewski: "Before the PZPR Voivodship Conference in Suwalki: In the Center of Life"/

/Text/ As indicated by analytical information coming from the Political Organizational Department of the PZPR Executive Board in Suwalki, the voivodship party organization was reduced by 2,795 members and candidates last year. This is undoubtedly a great decrease. Is it also a loss? Both yes and no. Surely it is a loss to some degree, considering the departure of many valuable people from the party. But it is primarily a gain when it comes to the ideological value of the party ranks, the victory over slackness, and the transition to aggressive activities in surmounting the socioeconomic crisis.

Despite its decrease in size, the Suwalki party organization--numbering more than 24,000 members and candidates at the present time--remained massive and active in all spheres of work and life of the region's population. This was proven by the reports-programs campaign in the basic links and urban and rural communal instances. There is no way of noting in an editorial the whole gamut of issues which were raised in the course of this campaign, as well as the hundreds of remarks, conclusions, and proposals made concerning programs of activity and directed to the voivodship and central headquarters authorities.

What should be emphasized is that discussions were critical as a rule. And there is nothing surprising about that, since the importance of the issues discussed is defined both by the crisis situation as well as by the remedial undertakings assumed chiefly by the party organizations and instances. Pointing to the manifestations of frugality and initiative, our comrades reacted critically to all the vexing phenomena: waste, parasitism, speculation,

and bureaucracy. An especially great amount of criticism was directed towards enterprises overstating prices, dishonest agents and craftsmen--all those who are thriving at others' expense in a difficult situation. Thus, it was demanded that the rural commune, voivodship, and central headquarters authorities--in defense of hardworking people--intensify the struggle against all manifestations of social pathology, with full consequences.

In the urban and rural organizations, the essential thread of discussion was everyday difficulties. To be sure, the improvement in the supply of food, coal, cement, and fertilizers was certified, but at the same time the lack of many implements and means for farm production was pointed out. A particularly great amount of criticism was aimed at agricultural policy, with the statement made that it is unstable and does not favor the growth of production. The functioning of institutions serving agriculture and local administrative efforts also was criticized.

Needless to say, what the basic party organizations live by everyday was reflected in the deliberations at the urban and rural commune conferences. And economic issues dominated here. The participants debated the economic tasks of the voivodship with a feeling of responsibility for the success of our aims. Both in reports and discussions as well as in resolutions, attention was focused on the development of industrial and agricultural production, on acceleration of housing and social construction, and on the streamlining of the communal economy. But it is a shame that in debating such important tasks, the participants devoted too little attention to the formation and activity of workers' self-governments and to the role of party organizations in initiating economic reform. And it is well known that the party organizations have to be active advocates of reform, assuring the development of worker initiative and assuring real self-government.

Although party debate in basic rank organizations and instances was concentrated mainly on economic issues, much of the debate was devoted to intraparty problems, especially ideopolitical activity and work among independents. Expressing resolute support for party policy aimed at surmounting the crisis and leading Poland on the path of further development, the participants stated at the same time that in many party links, weaknesses are delaying the implementation of the most important tasks.

The course of the campaign in many localities demonstrates this fact. Although a decided majority of the conferences took place within planned time limits, nonetheless in some cases in the Oleck, Augustow, and Sejnen regions and in Suwalki itself it was necessary to shift the deadlines on account of poor turnout. For this same reason, plenary sessions were held in Bania Mazurska, Jeleniewo, and Milki, instead of conferences.

At the majority of conferences and reports meetings, evaluations were made of the implementation of resolutions and motions and of party members' fulfillment of statute obligations. It was stated that the daily activity of the organizations and members of the party brings ever more constructive factors into the life of the work forces and environments, and that thanks to this activity, the party's tie with independents is growing stronger. The organizations and instances in Goldap and Wegorzewo, among other places, provide good examples.

With emphasis placed on the fact that the everyday posture of the PZPR member determines the credibility and strength of the party in society, it was demanded that discipline be tightened, that the work of organizations and instances be improved, and that the level of ideological instruction be improved.

The report campaign in the Suwalki party organization provided a response to the question: what is its strength and its link to society? There is no doubt that this campaign has to its credit considerable achievements in the form of many favorably resolved socioeconomic problems; formation of conditions for development in the coming years; and consolidation of the community, proof of which are the growing initiatives within the framework of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth /PRON/, the slow but steady development of trade unions, and the large number of visitors to organizations and instances at all levels.

This truth requires special demonstration, since the Suwalki organization lived through difficult moments before 13 December 1981. The local Solidarity leadership was immensely active in the struggle with the party. And yet their Suwalki comrades managed to consolidate their ranks in defense of the right program line of the Ninth Congress, strengthening their position and role in the cities as well as in the countryside.

One can say without exaggeration that today, through its departmental and basic organizations, the party in Suwalki is at the center of the most important and most difficult issues concerning the work forces, the farmers, and all of society. This was shown by the multithreaded, penetrating, critical, and sometimes even controversial discussion. It should be emphasized that if the grievous failures of the party were pointed out, there was talk at the same time of our own possibilities for eliminating them. Considerably fewer demands were made on the central authorities, whereas there were more remarks and proposals about our own work.

The economic results of the region show that this work is increasingly better and more efficient, primarily in industry, which has been increasing its production for several months. In agriculture, too, positive trends are being observed, allowing for marked optimism.

The accomplishments are evident. Next to the pluses, minuses are appearing. As the report campaign showed, even today many party members are not proving true in their activity. For the consciousness of the importance of the obligations resulting from membership in the PZPR has not reached all its members, and especially those in the small organizations.

The party organizations in the countryside primarily require more interest and aid. For they are too inactive in solving problems in their own locality and in influencing agricultural development. It is significant that at the meetings agricultural policy is criticized, but there is no mention of our own duties and what to do and how to do it, in order to increase production.

When it comes to the party organizations in industry, construction, transport, and trade, they ought to demonstrate greater activity in initiating economic reform. It is a matter of the growth of qualitatively good production, but not at any cost. Consistency between personal and social interests must be observed, which the Politburo pointed out recently.

Thus, the PZPR Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference in Suwalki will have to examine many issues of fundamental significance for party and social life in the region. Their penetrating and constructive discussion will make it possible to outline a program of the most efficient possible work for the second half of the term. It is first and foremost the organizational and ideological unity and cohesiveness of the whole organization which will determine this.

Status, Development of Work Conditions

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 11 Feb 83 p 2

Article by (m): "Meeting of the PZPR Executive Board in Suwalki"

Text (From our own correspondent) At yesterday's meeting of the PZPR Executive Board in Suwalki the state and development of the forestry economy and the work conditions of forestry employees were discussed. The board members also evaluated and familiarized themselves with the activities of the ZUS Social Security Agency in Augustow.

As the first topic, the great significance of the forests (they occupy 31.2 percent of the surface area of the voivodship) was emphasized both in presented materials and in discussion as amounting to a natural resource. In addition to their natural and recreational value the forests in Suwalki Province are a considerable source of raw materials for the local and national timber industry.

The state of sanitation of the forested areas causes concern. This situation is the result of the recently occurring storm damage, among other things. It is estimated that the volume of so-called windfallen wood totals more than 300,000 cubic meters. Of necessity, the implementation of production tasks has been subordinated to efforts aimed at combatting and removing the effects of the storm damage. The plan for acquiring timber for industry last year was set at 738,450 cubic meters. But due to the aforementioned conditions, interruptions may occur in deliveries of particular types of products. Combatting insect and fungal vermin, and especially praying mantis, is a separate problem. This year chemical treatments are being carried out on a surface of approximately 11,000 hectares of forests.

The forestry industry also is concerned with efforts assuring the continuity of production and its growth. These aims have been realized through the correct use of existing biotopic types of forests as well as by applying methods of selection in arboriculture which are based on selection of the best seedling material.

As indicated during the discussions, a factor not favoring the fulfillment of economic goals is the inadequate supply of means of production: there is a lack of cars to transport workers and a shortage of spare parts for machinery, rubber tires, and storage batteries. The quantities of work clothing and footwear for forestry workers also are insufficient. All these needs, together with housing needs, were recorded in the motions adopted by the PZPR Executive Board. And a proposal for the creation by the Association of Engineers and Technicians in Agriculture of a specialized unit to investigate hunting damage died. It was recommended that the basic party organizations active in forestry hold meetings aimed at establishing specific tasks resulting from the motions that were presented.

It followed from the information on the work of the ZUS in Augustow that the agency expects the greatest part of the tasks to be fulfilled this year. This is connected with the passage of a series of laws in the area of pension and securities delivery and an anticipated new regulation concerning family subsidies. Work will have to be accomplished in the course of 5-6 months which until now has been spread over several years. An entire "portfolio" of pensions and securities, that is, about 50,000 benefits, will require a second recounting. The scale of this undertaking is without precedence in the history of the ZUS. The preparation for this action requires many organizational and technical kinds of undertakings. Provided that we have managed in our own area to assure a suitable cadre, the number one problem for today is the worse than modest local base. The motions impose on the ZUS the duty to further improve its work and to raise employee qualifications as well as to establish an inspectorate in Goldap by the end of 1983. The obligation to impart aid in assigning indispensable lodgings and to set classes in motion on the direction of social security in one of the postgraduate schools falls to the voivodship authorities. In the motions approved by the Executive Board, the Administrative Commission of the Executive Board was obliged to conduct periodic analysis of the specified tasks.

Political-Economic Situation

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 12-13 Feb 83 pp 1, 3

/Article by Ryszard Klimaszewski: "Before the PZPR Voivodship Conference in Suwalki: The Most Important Thing--To Be With the Work Force"/

/Text/ Although we were agreed earlier, I have to wait a little while, for the secretary of the Plant Committee Adolf Becker happened to meet with the department secretaries of the party organizations. There are so many issues--he will state later in the conversation--that there is no way to postpone their consideration from week to week, especially when, at the beginning of the year and also in the present political and economic situation, each one is important and pressing.

Recalling the events of recent years, which, to be sure, bypassed the Pisz plants to a small degree, but not completely of course, comrade Becker points to the distinctness of the phenomena and the tasks resulting from them--even in the case of the trade unions, which should be reactivated, or even in the

case of worker self-government, which should occupy itself more with several of the more difficult problems of economic reform.

"The party in the enterprises," he emphasizes, "cannot enclose itself in a circle of its own affairs; instead, through its members in various representative organizations and those employed in production, it must react actively towards everything affecting the life of the workforce."

The report conference of the plant organization included this obligation in its program of action. Much was said about it, for there was a lot to say on this subject. This organization, like others in Pisz and the surrounding area, moreover, endured difficult moments in the period being reviewed. Owing to attacks by political adversaries, it limited and weakened its work. Yes, it operated, it made itself known; it was just that it did this less effectively, since this activity was no longer as collective and coordinated as it had been previously. Its activity resulted--and this should be emphasized fully--from the individual attitudes of the majority of members of the party and work force--however few of which--connected with the plants. Tensions and conflicts moved through Poland, but they bypassed Pisz. For in Pisz, work and calm always counted the most.

When martial law restored conditions to normalization and stabilization, it was easier for the Plant Committee and the entire organization to put their affairs in order and to link their strengths to the implementation of responsible tasks. Plenary sessions were resumed (with greater frequency), with many of the difficult problems resulting from the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and the situation in the plants being taken up. For example, the plan for the declaration "What are we fighting for, where are we going" was discussed, the start of economic reform was dealt with, the creation of a social commission was initiated, issues concerning young people were examined, and an evaluation of the leadership cadre was accomplished. And above all, the party ranks were set right, with incidental people, people violating party statutes, and passive people being eliminated. The organization was reduced by 19 people.

"The conversations held with some comrades had great significance," mentions the secretary. "They permitted a more thorough examination of our organization, and at the same time they contributed to its activation. All the same," he adds, "there is a need to hold further talks."

Today the organization numbers 211 members and candidates concentrated in 10 departmental organizations. Locating the party within the plants is proper; its members are in all the departments and units. "It is only," concedes comrade Becker, "that some organizations are working irregularly, for not all their members have joined in active pursuits yet."

In "plywood" the organization is enjoying a good reputation among the urban and voivodship echelons. Where does this recognition come from? Namely from the fact that the organization is in evidence in the plants and in the city. Many of its members, such as Kazimierz Kalinowski, Zygmunt Banuch, Andrzej Drewnik, Janusz Gisicz, Maria Stachelik, Teresa Skrypczek, and Edmund Jankowski

are involved in various echelons, institutions, and organizations aimed at easing and resolving the everyday problems that are aggravating for the work force and local society. For example, 80 people from "plywood" have already joined forces in OKON.

Through the activity of its members, the organization at the PZPS /Poznan Alcohol Plant/ thus endorses the leadership role of the party by taking up manifold, often difficult issues, and it gains authority and the support of hard-working people. Among other things, it presents streamlining motions for trade, services, and administration and it controls the degree to which they are processed.

"Comrade, I would not want you to become overzealous in writing about the work of our organization," says secretary Becker, "for it does have its weak aspects; we are not successful in doing everything. We are living in difficult circumstances, so there are more critical evaluations than positive ones."

"Yet I think," he reflects, "that we are tightening the bond with the workforce and are gaining its confidence. Confirmation of this fact may be the frequent visits of the independent workers on the Plant Committee. They come to us with various matters common to the workforce as well as with personal matters. They present them, believing that we will help. And we are helping as much as we can."

He pulls out a notebook with an index of these matters. "Most concern supply, construction, and the atmosphere at work and in the family. Therefore, it is so necessary to have a trade union, which somehow no one is eager to form. "I think," he says, "that party members should occupy themselves with its organization."

In developing this thought, he talks about the need for party members to adopt a straightforward stand in contacts with the work force. And he suggests his own example.

"I have been secretary for only a year. I was selected for this position from a composition board department, where I was the tool adjuster. As a laborer I know how to talk with workers, and I understand their problems. Thus, when I make my rounds of the departments everyday, and I love to do this, I am able to acquaint myself with many issues. I say with satisfaction that people think well of me, they do not conceal frequently critical views from me in conversations with their own kind, they have confidence that I will concern myself with their observations, remarks, and proposals. And I do this. And if I do succeed in doing something good, then, please note, it is in large measure thanks to collaboration with the directorate."

"People see that in the nation, in the city, and in the plant the party is trying to do much for the general good. And they are imbued with faith in the party. Recently we took into the organization two women from production. Earlier I asked one of them: 'Why do you want to join the party?' 'Because I agree with its policy,' she replied."

Of course, in representing the interests of hard-working people, the party organization in PZPS has to associate them with the general social welfare. Therefore, it devotes much attention to the economy in the enterprises, especially when there are essential reasons for doing so. For want of raw materials and other materials, the plants, as one of the largest exporters of profitable plywood, work on decelerated turnovers. Concern with maintaining continuity of production necessarily limits the interest of the work force in principles of the new economic system.

When I speak of the production situation, director Jan Muzyka enters the Executive Board room. He is on medical leave, but he came to see what was happening in the plants and occasionally would come to settle several matters with the secretary.

In the coming days a meeting of the workers' self-government should take place with the aim of adopting a plan for 1983. Growth both in terms of value and quantity are assumed in it. For example, plywood production will increase by nearly 1,300 cubic meters, wood chip plate production by 1,300 tons, and lignofol and elkon production by 80 tons. But there will be a decrease in cellular plate/slat production by about 1,800 cubic meters; there is a demand for cellular plates from the furniture industry, but its production has been decreased due to high prices. They are high because the slat producers raised their price again.

Therefore, the director informs us, we are beginning our own production--of rollers and plywood.

Many raw materials and other materials became more expensive with the start of the new year. For example: a meter of pine increased by 500 zlotys. Since two meters of pine are needed to produce one cubic meter of plywood, the price of this product has to be raised by 1,000 zlotys.

"Due to the increase in the cost of wood, coal, metallurgical products, and cellulose and in transport costs," says comrade Muzyka, "we have to correct our own prices that were fixed at the end of 1982. But where will such a price policy lead?"

The second issue, already mentioned, is the deficient supply. The forests extend all around us, but there is a shortage of raw materials. Consequently people travel to Lublin, Krakow, Lodz, and Krosno and await deliveries. January did not turn out badly, but what will happen later?

These are important problems for the directorate, self-government, and the party organization. Constant collaboration in the plants and joint activities outside the plants are indispensable.

Therefore, comrade Adolf Becker is absolutely right that the essential factor in a good work atmosphere is mutual understanding and good will. He is right when he says that the party organization in the plants has to be active everywhere.

Preparations for Reports-Programs Conference

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 14 Feb 83 p 3

/Article by Jerzy Marks: "Preparation for the Conference: The Common Denominator"/

/Text/ The course of the reports-programs campaign and the preparations for this conference reflects the current image of the party in Suwalki Province and its strength. It is precisely these activities, aside from the current activities, of course, which have set the work pace of the Voivodship Committee during the last 2 months.

The events leading up to the conference were preceded by the establishment of a particularly timetable of undertakings and by an indication of the comrades in charge. As late as December 1982 individual departments of the Voivodship Committee prepared (in their own activity are) written evaluations of the implementation of the resolutions of the Reports-Electoral Conference of June 1981, the plenary sessions of the Voivodship Committee and the Central Committee, and the Ninth Party Congress. The collected materials were utilized to prepare a report on Voivodship Committee activities.

The regional meetings with delegates held in mid-January 1983 were an important phase in the preparations. The delegates made many productive observations concerning the substantial problems covered in the planned documents. The conclusions that were drawn can be discussed in three basic groups. In the first were found remarks concerning the content and form of the report. In the second were problems which should be found in the program of activity for the end of the term. The last group covered proposals not linked directly with documents for the conference, but important for the functioning of the party in the voivodship.

If we add to that remarks taken from meetings of the problem commissions of the Voivodship Committee with delegate participation, where organizational and technical problems of the coming debate were discussed, among other things, then the packet of issues is quite a respectable one. Their common denominator is concern for the future of the region and the country, and for the restoration of confidence in party policy and actions.

Among the conclusions drawing our attention are those concerning the designation of the duties of PZPR members acting on national councils and in sociopolitical organizations, the achievement of an honest evaluation of the activities of the members and substitute members of the Voivodship Committee, and also the elaboration of a specific investment plan for the next 3 years. The proposal for systematic supervision of the work of the administration in the light of the implementation of tasks set by the party also seems significant for the efficient functioning of the economy and other spheres of life. An outline of clear and, with that, concrete prospects for agricultural development as well as for expansion of the activity of rural POP also was called for.

There are several other examples. At the meeting in Wegorzewo, comrade E. Stelmach, delegate from the PGKiM /expansion unknown/, asserted that residential construction and environmental protection were treated too superficially in the report. Due to the significance of these problems for the city, he intends to speak about them at the conference. In the opinion of the delegates from Elk, issues concerning assurance of harmony, order, and security should be emphasized more strongly in the program so that people can live and work in peace. On the other hand, there was talk in Gizyck and Goldap, among other places, about granting ideological instruction an appropriate rank. At the meeting of the delegates in Goldap, attention also was focused on the correlation between fulfilling the leadership role of the party and appropriate cadre policy.

These remarks and many others were considered in the final editing of the conference materials. Moreover, they have been used in the daily work of the party.

Before the documents took their final shape, they were examined at the January sessions of the Secretariat and Executive Board. The relationship of the Voivodship Committee Plenum to these documents also was defined on 18 January 1983.

An intensive analysis of the organizational and political capability of the PZPR is contained in all these materials. A major portion of the conclusions concerns the participation of the party in overcoming economic difficulties and in creating a climate suitable for the formation of trade unions and workers' self-governments. The report contains achievements as well as failures in the work of the Voivodship Committee.

Members of the party authorities and political workers participated actively in preparing and conducting the reports-programs campaign and in preparing the materials. The opinions and critical comments voiced by them contributed to the appropriate and comprehensive treatment in these documents of vital problems disturbing the party organizations and particular environments.

Two hundred forty-five delegates will participate in the conference. The responsibility lies with these very delegates to elaborate a program of action which will be consistent with the vital interests and needs of the working class of farmers and of the entire society of Suwalki Province.

Gallup Poll on Youth Party Work

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 14 Feb 83 p 3

/Article by Jerzy Marks: "Youth About Themselves"/

/Text/ In the course of preparations for the last plenary session of the PZPR Executive Board in Suwalki devoted to issues concerning the young generation, opinion polls were conducted among the most active members of the PZPR, members of the ZSMP /Union of Socialist Polish Youth/, and directors and pupils of schools above the primary level. The aim of these polls was to obtain

information and opinions on the party's work among youth, the ZSMP's participation in solving young people's problems, and the upbringing situation and social involvement of pupils. More than 600 people were polled.

Two outlooks stood out in responses concerning the directions of activities serving to improve the social and everyday conditions of youth. The minority thought there was no need to apply any preferences with regard to youth, but the relationship of the partners and equality ("to concede that they are right when they are right, and not because they are young") are important. It was stated that individuals or groups with initiative always will find their place in the social structures.

The majority, on the other hand, made precise demands which it would be necessary to implement in order for youth--who feel the effects of the crisis the most acutely--to create conditions for a better start in life. They recognized as the most urgent the development of patronage housing, youth housing cooperative societies, and work cooperative societies. It was demanded that a motivational remuneration system be introduced such that after 3 to 4 years of irreproachable work, a young worker would attain 80 to 90 percent of his personal upgrading. The majority also demanded the formation in work establishments of a Fund to Aid Young Families, a change in the interest rate paid on credits and an increase in the amount of credit allowed, the granting of free lodgings to young married couples, and, finally, supervision of the administration concerned with youth issues.

Youth organizations were criticized for their slackness, for the administrative management of the permanent apparatus, for quarrels caused by self-interest, for their affability, and for their inability to have a dialogue with large numbers of their members. But the opinion was formulated "that no one solves problems for the members of the organizations." Conclusions also were drawn about creating the possibility of advancement, creating the proper work atmosphere, clearing the most active members, and also turning over reading rooms to the patronage of youth organizations and supporting the activity of youth organizations in work establishments.

In the opinion of the respondents, utilizing the qualifications of young people is an essential issue. It was demanded that suitable studies be conducted and that a balance of needs be determined. Creation of a "data bank" on job openings also was proposed. The need for close collaboration of the schools with plants and for the creation of a commission on youth issues as part of workers' self-governments was emphasized.

In evaluating the effectiveness of actions on behalf of youth and the propagation of personal socialist models, the questionnaire participants proposed that the standard instructions not be given in the propaganda system but that particular problems be presented controversially.

In responses on the issue of bringing youth organizations closer to youth not involved in these organizations, it was proposed, among other things, that programs of action be realized at the lowest organizational levels, that the use of material incentives be abandoned, and that conditions be created so that an organization can and wants to help young people.

In replies on the subject of the creation of a Council on Youth Affairs in Suwalki Province, 17 people considered such a body inadvisable, treating it as one more bureaucratic organ. But 21 people stated that the undertaking was valid and advisable. According to them, the council should have consultative powers, both advisory and coordinative.

The second block problems the questionnaire respondents directed their interest to concerned the start of life. One can sense that youth have a poor opinion of the possibilities for their start in life.

More than 93 percent of those polled considered the lack of housing as the most urgent problem. The youth indicated directions of resolving this problem, among other things, through the further development of patronage construction, single family construction, and plant construction and by adapting garrets and providing free lodgings.

The form of young married couple credits that has been in existence until now met with a negative evaluation. Fifty-eight percent of those polled stated that this form of credits did not fulfill their expectations. As many as 78 percent of the questionnaire participants propose the introduction of changes in this form of aid. In their opinion, these changes would consist of creation of a list of goods purchased based on the obtained credit as well as of supplies in accordance with most needs. There also were demands to lower the interest rate paid on credits. The basis for granting credit should be not the age of the husband and wife, but the length of the marriage.

Sixty-one percent of polled youth belonging to the ZSMP declared themselves in favor of revising the principles for preschool recruitment. Actual material and family circumstances of the parents, the nature of one's professional work, and work capability in a plant should be the factors that count. Eighty-four percent of those polled declared a couple's participation in preschool construction as the condition for guaranteeing a place for their child.

Another problem strongly emphasized by those polled (57 percent) is wages, which--in their opinion--should be fixed in work establishments in connection with financial possibilities.

More than half of those polled in rural environments pointed to the aging of the countryside and to the requirement to create a suitable motivational system for youth who decided to remain in the countryside. They must be guaranteed priority in purchasing farming implements and construction materials based on a principle similar to the young married couple credit. Assuring health care for rural residents is an essential problem. It is interesting that as many as 48 percent of those polled proposed the introduction of a work obligation in the countryside for medical school graduates, with appropriate preferences being honored at the same time.

It appears that young people want to participate in solving current social problems. Sixty-seven percent of those polled declare a desire to participate in the efforts of antispeculative commissions and to collaborate with the Ministry of Education and the state administration.

More than 52 percent of polled pupils approve of the possibility of acquiring education. It must be disturbing nonetheless that as many as 32 percent express their dissatisfaction with attendance at "their" school. Therefore, one can conjecture that these schools are fulfilling the expectations of youth to a very small degree.

It follows from research on the subject of the attitudes of youth towards present sociopolitical problems that youth pay much attention to these problems. However, 39 percent of those polled stated that these problems were not discussed with them at school or outside of school. At the same time, such a need was suggested in their replies.

Although the polls did not cover a very large group of people, they brought the complaints and affairs of youth closer. Their peers in other regions of Poland have similar problems to the youth in the Suwalki Province.

The gathered materials served among other things to establish tasks for the party, administration, and youth and social organizations in the further implementation of Resolution IX of the Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The obtained remarks and opinions certainly will be utilized at the PZPR Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference.

8729

CSO: 2600/482

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Konin Province Party Plenum

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 10 Feb 83 p 1

[Article by: (pis)]

[Text] (Own Information) Yesterday [9 February 1983] in Konin a plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] was held. The PZPR KW report for the voivodship conference to be held 23 February 1983 was discussed. The deliberations were chaired by PZPR KW first secretary in Konin Lech Ciupa.

The meeting had a working character. Plenum members analyzed the particular fields of party activity discussed in the report materials that had been supplied to them earlier. During the discussion of the materials, comments were made concerning content and the editing of the text. It was pointed out that some questions should be highlighted more. It was stated that the party has not only problems but people, above all, and when phenomena are spoken of, the specific attitudes of PZPR members should be indicated. It was assessed that the scope of the materials contained in the report portrays the work that was done in party echelons and organizations over the past 2 years.

During the organizational part of the meeting, the plenum confirmed the new directors of PZPR KW departments in Konin.

Gizela Pawlowska's Katowice Interview

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 19-20 Feb 83 p 3

[Interview with Comrade Dr Gizela Pawlowska, PZPR CC [Central Committee] member, chairwoman of the Commission for Health and Environmental Protection, by Elzbieta Karalinska; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Dr Pawlowska] Like problems of environmental protection, health issues understandably generate much interest among the residents of the Katowice Voivodship. The Katowice voivodship organization and the party echelon devote much attention to these issues in their work. Thus, the commission working under the PZPR KW shares in an important task: to offer its knowledge and experience in giving opinions on and undertaking vital decisions.

Both spheres are covered in the commission's work: health and the protection of the natural environment are extremely closely interwoven in our region. In the Katowice Voivodship, we cannot speak separately of a noxious and harmful environment in the factory and completely different conditions existing beyond the factory gate, in the home, in the school and on the street. All this means that the state of the health of residents of the Katowice Voivodship is worse than that of people in other parts of the country. The high rate of upper respiratory tract illnesses among children is particularly disturbing to parents.

[Question] Then is it as some people say, that the only guarantee of health is to change one's place of residence?

[Answer] Both as a private individual and as a physician I am an optimist and I believe that our organism has adaptive capabilities that are not yet fully known to science and can manage even under such unnatural environmental conditions. Obviously in this process, the broadly understood help of the health protection sphere is indispensable, as is even a special social policy that takes into account the specific character of the region. Unfortunately, it is difficult to reconcile economic reasons with general social arguments. What is to be done with industrial plants that are polluting the air but are indispensable to the economy? If we close the plant, does that solve all our problems? What would those employed there say to this? The comprehensive program of environmental protection for the Katowice Voivodship that is being prepared by a team of scientists must take all these issues into consideration.

[Question] What role in solving these problems falls to the health service itself and to the commission under your direction?

[Answer] It is worthwhile to point out here that in the program documents of the Ninth PZPR Congress, among social problems health issues were considered to be the most important. The reform of the health care system that is now in the preparatory stages, will be of vital significance not only to health service employees, but also to the entire sphere of health protection broadly understood, including all patients. The members of our commission took part in many local consultative meetings at which the shape of this reform was discussed, specific changes were suggested and local experiences and observations were shared. We submitted these valuable remarks and social opinions to the PZPR CC Health Protection Commission. In the team under my direction, i.e., the Raciborz ZOZ [Health Protection Team], since last October we have conducted a so-called experiment of offering people the free choice of a doctor. The results of this experiment, which was also being made in seven other health service units throughout Poland, may be of interest for the future of all of Polish medicine.

[Question] In a single specific interview with a doctor who deals with problems that concern all people, it is impossible to exhaust all subjects of interest. Undoubtedly, the commission has a similar dilemma: of so many socially important problems, which ones should be given priority treatment?

[Answer] It is true that the number of problems is tremendous and that each of these problems should frequently be the first and most important one, for as the commission we have the task of fighting for a clean environment and dealing with sick people. Thus, we normally try to treat the subjects we take up comprehensively, while at the same time being concrete and realistic with regard to existing circumstances and possibilities.

The list of topics already taken up by the commission since September 1981 include an assessment of the health state of miners and the state of the miners' health service and a similar analysis of industrial medicine (both attempts to deal with these topics were preceded by visits to selected clinics). The commission has also begun studying the level of health care for children and school-age youth and has been working on a report on the situation of veterans, the handicapped and people in their postproductive years. In making an assessment of the degree of implementation of health service investments, teams made up of commission members visited specific building sites. Similarly, an earlier opinion we gave on the state of expansion of the GOP [Upper Silesia Industrial District] Protected Forest Belt was preceded by a local visit, to enable us to reconcile theory with practice.

Kielce Executive Board on Reorganization

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 83 p 7

[Text] Yesterday [22 February 1983] at the regular meeting of the PZPR KW Executive Board in Kielce, the board heard a report on the sociopolitical aspects of the implementation of the economic reform in voivodship forestry, the timber industry and the paper industry. The materials presented showed that in this field of the economy there is a tremendous range with regard to the organization of particular units, their size, importance and production volume. Five plants are subject directly to the ministry (these include the Kielce Paper Products Plant and the Starachowice Timber Industry Enterprise). Fourteen (mainly forest inspectorates) are under the District State Forest Management in Krakow. Seven are subject to the Radom Timber Industry Enterprise and the rest are under the Radom LAS Forest Production Enterprise.

Of these 33 units, only 5 have plant groups for economic reform affairs. In some sense, this is a reflection of the position of the administrative-political managements that see no point in creating such groups in the plants under their jurisdiction. This position is controversial, at the very least. The various goals that forest inspectorates, furniture factories and paper plants set for themselves cannot excuse this position. After hearing the reports, the PZPR KW Executive Board ordered plant committees and party organizations to work together with administrative leaders to make a basic assessment of the implementation of economic reform in their enterprises, to reanalyze the activism and commitment of party members in the work of commissions for reform affairs and to familiarize themselves with the results of the control and implementation of the recommendations evolving from the above tasks. The Executive Board emphasized that work must also be stepped up on the law on state forest management and the comprehensive reorganization of the forest economy in the Kielce Voivodship must be undertaken.

Next the KW Executive Board heard reports on the manner of receiving, examining and settling people's complaints in the local organs of the state administration in the Kielce Voivodship. However we count these complaints, there are always a great many of them. They come to the departments of the Voivodship Office (597), to units subject to the voivodship governor (194) and to the local organs of the state administration at the basic level (593). More than 500 complaints came in through superior organs, party echelons and newspaper editorial staffs and nearly 2,400 came to the voivodship military commissar.

Most of the complaints concerned issues related to agriculture, the improper activity of trade and food services and of the allocation of housing and repairs and the improper actions of the state administration in distributing scarce materials. The reports that have been submitted show that the Kielce Voivodship governor attaches much importance to making direct contact with citizens within the framework of complaints and grievances. In 1982, nearly 2,500 petitioners presented themselves at his office. Of these, he himself and the deputy governors received 1,200.

In the estimation of the KW Executive Board, this data alone shows that we continue to have many troublesome and painful problems, if they are mostly individual matters. We should note with satisfaction that the system of resolving complaints is being improved continually. Nonetheless, the KW Executive Board has ordered all party echelons and organizations to increase their efforts so that the work of the institutions, enterprises and plants in which they operate does not cause complaints or require the intervention of superiors. If there are complaints, however, they must be explained promptly and the interested parties must be given clear and exhaustive answers.

Joint PZPR-ZSL Deliberations in Krakow

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 25 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by: (t1)]

[Text] (Own Information) Yesterday [24 February 1983] a joint meeting was held in Krakow at the headquarters of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] KK [Krakow Committee] of the PZPR KK Executive Board and the ZSL KK Presidium. The topic of the deliberations was an assessment of the implementation of the development of services for farming, in accordance with a joint resolution of both echelons dated 6 May 1982, as well as an evaluation of the level of preparations for farming for the spring of 1983. The operating schedule of political and organizational work of the KK PZPR and the KK ZSL in the implementation of tasks emanating from the report and resolution of the 11th joint plenum of the PZPR CC and ZSL NK [Supreme Committee] was also discussed and accepted. ZSL KK chairman Wladyslaw Cabaj and PZPR KK first secretary Jozef Gajewicz chaired the deliberations.

The state of services for agriculture was discussed in turn by: director of the Department of Trade and Services of the Krakow City Office--Czeslaw Tochowicz, director of the Agricultural Department--Witold Lenarczyk and vice mayor of the city--Wieslaw Gondek and secretary of the KK PZPR

Jozef Gregorczyk. It was ascertained that there had been a significant increase in services offered by handicraft, cooperative and small-scale industrial plants. These produce small tools, animal-husbandry equipment and beekeeping equipment, as well as construction elements. The Tool Factory in Sulkowice projects the production of 100,000 garden hoes and 30,000 blades and cultivator points for farm equipment in 1983. However, this plant is waiting for help in deliveries of raw materials and tax preferences. In most of the gminas in our voivodship, handicraft services are considered to be sufficient, although there are still gminas where the repair of household appliances is a serious problem. Efficient telephone connections are still lacking in gminas and villages.

It has become evident, however, that 36 SKR [Agricultural Circles' Cooperatives] and 8 agricultural circles implementing farm services are guaranteeing only 30 percent of farmers' needs. Thus, the extensive expansion of neighborhood services using private tractors is becoming necessary. Krakow mayor Tadeusz Salwa announced that those who have tractors and do farm work (not transport) for other farmers will be exempt from tax. Large amounts of fertilizer have been delivered for spring sowing, but an additional nitrogen and potassium pool is needed. On the other hand, we are fully covered for sowing grain (for replacement purposes) and seed-potatoes, with the exception of clover. There are, however, basic shortages of insecticides for fruit and vegetable crops (60 percent of our insecticide needs and 70 percent of our seed dressing needs are covered).

It was pointed out in discussion that not all ventures emanating from last year's KK PZPR and KK ZSL Executive Board proposals have been implemented in full, and the very quality of services leaves much to be desired. In 17 gminas fuel stations have been opened for farming, and gradually stations are to be opened in other gminas by 1985. The implementation of the comprehensive construction of family homes in rural areas has begun. The gmina Wawrzenczyce leads here, with four multifamily dwellings to be built. An architectural supervisor will oversee the esthetics and stylistic correctness of this project. In the city voivodship, 54 public water supply systems and 360 public wells are in service in rural areas. The Voivodship Water Services Plant (servicing 500 km of lines) requires both additional investment and other assistance, since the problem of farm water supply is a basic issue. The issue was also raised in discussion of the overly high prices for veterinary services, the need for professional supervision in the use of chemical insecticides and the inefficiency of the PZU [State Insurance Bureau] in implementing universal livestock insurance. It was also recommended that every gmina employ an instructor in home economics. City mayor T. Salwa announced specific solutions to particular questions in accordance with his powers.

The confirmed operating schedule for the implementation of tasks emanating from the 11th PZPR CC and ZSL NK Plenum resolution will be submitted to the gmina echelons of the party and allied parties and to circles and POP's [Basic Party Organization]. It specifies the tasks for basic-economic echelons and organizations in creating the political-social conditions for attaining self-sufficiency in feeding the country. Likewise the methods and procedure for controlling the implementations of the decisions passed were established.

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES CONTINUED

Poznan Reports-Programs Conference Resolution

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 16 Feb 83 p 6

[Text] The PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference in Poznan recognizes that the idea of national understanding and rebirth formulated at the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress remains constantly a major direction of the work of the voivodship party organization.

I. The PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference in Poznan, having become familiar with the reports materials that have been submitted and having heard the report of the Voivodship Executive Board and the recommendations made during the discussion, proposes to accept:

1. the report of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Poznan on the work of the voivodship party organization for the 26 June 1981 to 12 February 1983 period,
2. the report of the Voivodship Review Commission [WKR],
3. the report of the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP].

II. The conference recognizes that the resolution concerning intraparty work and the assumptions of the PZPR socioeconomic program in the Poznan Voivodship from 1981 through 1983, which were adopted at the PZPR Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference on 24 October 1981, are still current, and their contents are still valid during the current sociopolitical situation of the voivodship, providing guidelines for the further work of the voivodship party organization.

III. In making an honest and fundamental assessment of the execution of the tasks assigned to the voivodship party organization in the 1981 conference resolutions, the delegates assembled here today recognize that the process of our emergence from the deep sociopolitical and economic crisis has been hampered by the many internal and external circumstances that have occurred in the past 2 years. Due to these circumstances, not all tasks contained in the resolutions could be implemented with equal effort and results during the period under discussion. In conjunction with the above, the voivodship party organization, its echelons and organizations and all party members are obliged to implement consistently the conference resolutions, which have been enriched by the theoretical and practical achievements of the plenary meetings of the

PZPR CC [Central Committee], the PZPR KW and today's reports conference. The conference assigns the voivodship party organization the following tasks, whose implementation will enable the party to fulfill its leadership and leading role with regard to state organs and society.

Tasks in the Field of Consolidating and Strengthening the Party

1. Voivodship party echelons and organizations shall step up their work toward restoring the party's ties with the working class and with all working people and toward fulfilling their needs and aspirations.
2. Party work must be made more dynamic in basic party organizations [POP] operating among the highly industrialized working class, the rural community and employees in science, higher education, culture and the health service.
3. Party organizations and echelons should continue to counteract effectively all manifestations of evil, nepotism, cliques, bureaucracy and wrongs committed against people and should continue the practice of personal contacts made by the leadership of party echelons and organizations with the party aktiv and working people, as well as controlling systematically the implementation of the resolutions of party echelons and organizations.
4. Party echelons and organizations are obliged to rebuild the working class-peasant character of the party by drawing into its ranks the leading workers, peasants and outstanding youth of these communities.
5. Party members working within organs of the state and economic administration and in plants and institutions are obliged to implement the tasks emanating from the party's program, as well as the guidelines of party echelons and organizations.
6. Party echelons and organizations, using Leninist principles as a basis, should perfect the methods of their cooperative partnership with youth and youth unions.
7. Party members are obliged to represent the party's program in the reborn union movement and in the workers' and territorial self-government, so that the party may have effective influence upon the various spheres of sociopolitical and economic life.

Tasks in the Field of Ideological-upbringing and Propaganda Work

1. We must rebuild the cognitive and social standing of Marxist-Leninist thought, demonstrating its vitality and ability to deal with modernday problems offensively. This activity should be inspired by scientific-research centers, by centers for ideological training and by political employees of the party.
2. During party training, in the press and on radio and television, we should disseminate the program of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, stressing its lasting significance for restoring socialist values in the political life of the country and the voivodship.

3. Ideological-training work in POP's should be conducted in particular by forces of teachers who are graduates of the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism.

4. The effectiveness of the implementation of voivodship echelon resolutions should likewise be secured through self-education and through familiarizing people with party documents.

5. The mass media shall expand to popularize the cooperation of the party and political parties in the field of expanding the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and informing society of the concrete achievements of this movement.

Tasks in the Field of Strengthening Socialist Democracy

1. The voivodship party echelon and basic level party echelons should continue to focus their efforts on strengthening the role and position of people's councils at all levels in the context of the tasks that await us related to elections to these representative organs.

Deputies' teams and teams of advisers are the basic form of party activity in representative organs. These teams should consult with plant workforces on the problems that are undertaken by representative organs and should inform the workforces of their work.

2. The central authorities must make a decision on the demand of the PZPR Reports-Elections Conference from October 1981, calling for a change in the status of the city Poznan to correspond to the needs of the Poznan agglomeration.

3. Party organizations should take action to strengthen the authority, the power and the autonomy of class trade unions.

Tasks in the Field of the Socioeconomic Program

1. Party echelons and organizations are obliged to activate all participants in the process of implementing economic reform in the Poznan Voivodship, beginning with employee self-governments up through plant circles of the Chief Technical Organization [NOT], the Polish Economic Society [PTE] and the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration [TNOiK], as well as the scientific-research network of the Poznan Voivodship.

2. The Team of Advisers of the PZPR Voivodship and Municipal People's Council in Poznan is obliged to exercise political control over the process of implementing the socioeconomic program of the Poznan Voivodship for 1983 to 1985.

Reports on the state of implementation of the program in the area of such social priorities as housing construction, transport and transportation, trade and services, the production-food complex, the health service and social care and education and culture should be submitted periodically at plenary meetings of the PZPR KW and its Executive Board.

3. The POP's of higher schools, science, education and culture should inspire the preparation and implementation of a program of ideological work among scientific employees, teachers in the higher schools and cultural producers and activists in order to form socialist attitudes in the community, to set in motion the intellectual potential for developing socialist science and culture and to bring up the younger generation in the spirit of accepting socialist values and behavioral standards.

4. Party echelons and organizations should inspire organs of the state administration, associations, clubs and sports organizations to work broadly to win over the youth to sports, physical culture and tourism, to develop sports sections and disciplines having traditions and conditions for development in the Poznan Voivodship and to train new training, instructional and judging cadres.

The PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference obliges the Motions Commission to examine the motions made by delegates during today's deliberations and to submit them to the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board within 1 month for implementation. At the same time, the conference authorizes the PZPR KW to make more specific and develop creatively the provisions of the foregoing resolution.

PZPR Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference in Poznan

Poznan Executive Board on Workers' Independence

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 21 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by: (ako)]

[Text] On Friday, a meeting of the PZPR KW Executive Board in Poznan was held.

The Executive Board heard a report on the basic problems occurring in the work of employee self-governments. Within the Poznan Voivodship, thus far 205 recommendations to resume the work of employee self-governments have been submitted to founding organs. Positive decisions have been made with regard to 142 self-governing organs. This represents 44 percent of all enterprises registered in the Regional Court, in accordance with the law.

The basic problems being dealt with by the self-governments that are in operation currently include giving an opinion on the preliminary versions of the annual and 3-year plans that are being prepared in all enterprises, giving an opinion on the distribution of profits gained last year, with particular attention being given to funds earmarked for social purposes and approving plant programs for the improvement of working conditions.

In the motions passed by the Executive Board, the continued popularization of the idea of self-governments was recommended. It was considered indispensable to conduct various forms of training self-government activists and to arm them with the knowledge they need to make objective assessments of complex problems and to make the best decisions. The meetings of the representatives

of voivodship authorities and representatives of the Sejm Commission for Self-government Affairs with the self-governing aktiv of Poznan Voivodship enterprises should be continued. In conjunction with the educating of work-force representative organs to new forms of activity, it is expedient that their powers be defined more explicitly. It is likewise indispensable that the work of the Commission for Employee Self-government Affairs, operating upon the initiative of the voivodship party echelon under the Voivodship People's Council [WRN], be continued. The commission has its own consultation center that offers advice every Wednesday from 12.00 to 16.00 o'clock in the WRN building.

Next the Executive Board heard a report on the work of the WRN party advisory team. The plan of the team's work and its code of regulations were approved. It also heard a report on the implementation of the recommendations approved in August 1982 during an assessment of the work of voivodship and basic level party advisers in the Poznan Voivodship.

Next the Executive Board heard a report on the implementation of the recommendations and advice given at a September 1982 meeting concerning a local health service and social care base and its further development to 1985. In spite of the difficult domestic socioeconomic situation, the following investment tasks were put on the registry of the more important health service and social care investments in Poznan: a hospital in Nowe Miasto, an isolation unit, a maternity-gynecological hospital and a social care home. The expansion of the hospital in Sroda and a maternity-surgical unit in Grodzisko have been accepted conditionally into the registry. The WRN socioeconomic plan for the Poznan Voivodship for 1983, accepted in the form of a resolution, guarantees investment outlays of 300 million zlotys for health service needs, or 6.3 percent of the total voivodship budget, and another 190 million zlotys for major repairs. These funds make it possible for us to continue the investments we have begun and to initiate two new ones. In addition, we shall continue the expansion of a Specialized Oncological Health Care Team, the building of a health care airport hangar and the construction of a pharmacy in Kwilcz. A number of health centers will be built with funds from the National Health Protection Fund [NFOZ]. The health service has also received several buildings that were designated initially for other purposes.

In 1982 there was a definite increase in professional medical cadres--by a total of 230 people. Unfortunately, however, there is still a shortage of nurses.

The Executive Board concluded that the current directions of action should be continued and that it is indispensable that the particular buildings be put into service within a given time period.

870 Marian Dobrosielski's Interview

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 26-27 Feb 83 p 3

[Interview with Prof Dr Habilitatus Marian Dobrosielski by Krystyna Konecka; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Professor, allow me to begin in this way. I perused the "Encyklopedia Powszechna" [Universal Encyclopedia], the "Słownik Wiedzy Obywatelskiej" [Dictionary of Civic Knowledge] and even the "Encyklopedia Wiedzy o Prasie" [Encyclopedia of Newspaper Knowledge] and nowhere did I find even a trace of the expression: political culture.

[Answer] I admit that when I set out to write an essay on political culture, I did not look for a definition of that concept in dictionaries and encyclopedias. What I wrote emanates from Polish and international practice and experience. I believe that in today's times in Poland, if we are to develop real national understanding, the manifestation by our entire society, by both the governing and the governed, by all milieus of a high level of political culture is one of the basic conditions for achieving understanding.

[Question] Then was it a mistake that for entire decades some sort of need for political culture did not exist in the awareness of society?

[Answer] We made many mistakes in various fields. Certain forms of governing and of party and propaganda work did not always favor the development of political culture. This is hardly surprising for the first period of People's Poland when the fundamental task was to strengthen state authority and rebuild the country. But I think that even in those first postwar years until 1948 or 1950, there was more political culture than in later years, and even than there is today.

[Question] The experiences of recent years show that an elementary education is indispensable in our society since hardly anyone knows how one is to behave within the pale of political culture.

[Answer] In my opinion the causes of deficiencies in political culture in Polish society are well-known. We would be in error to say that once a well-developed political culture existed in Poland, and that we destroyed it during the postwar years. That is not so. The great decline in political culture occurred during the Polish Saxon period. During the period directly preceding the partitions, a political culture began to be created that was not inferior to the French or British Enlightenment. Perhaps this was already too late, however, and the fact that Poland was deprived of her independence for more than 120 years, the lack of Polish statehood, the treatment of authority always as something foreign and the destruction by this occupying power of all manifestations of culture, and of political culture, above all, caused a tremendous void. Likewise the interwar period, which we may call simplistically a period of limited dictatorship after the coup d'etat in 1926, did not favor the development of political culture. The period of the occupation once again brought about the destruction of all political life in the same way as the

partitions, but to a greater degree. Later, the situation during the postwar period did not always favor this development either.

I do not think that it is necessary to say a great deal about political culture or to define what it is in general. We must grasp its meaning in terms of its practice. I think that the crisis period, especially the second half of 1980 and 1981, showed how by unbridling their passions, many very intelligent and educated people failed to understand the need to defend their own state, structures and system. In other societies, these issues are treated as something completely natural. I think that at present the level of our press, since the time of the imposition of martial law, and the discussion in the press have helped greatly in the creation of this political culture, whose essence for me is one's own awareness and readiness to discuss with another. It is the awareness that one is not in possession of the absolute truth, good or beauty, and that one can learn something essential from a partner who has totally different views and--since we cannot attain an ideal in life--that we must aim at a compromise that is acceptable to the vast majority of Poles. This is so that all Poles may feel that they are having an impact upon the makeup of their state and on the shape of life in various fields.

I have a very great hope that national understanding, that the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] will lead to the development of political culture through concrete actions.

[Question] In an article you wrote 6 months ago you stated that "we are doomed to understanding." In February's issue of KONTRASTY, you called for "sociopolitical activists to join together in a concrete, cultural manner and the producers of culture, intellectuals and our entire society to work out real national understanding in a concrete and political manner. It is high time that we move from generalities to specifics." Since that time, PRON has taken shape to the extent that a congress is to be held in Warsaw in early May of this year. Do you believe that this social movement really includes those people that are the most receptive to the idea of national understanding?

[Answer] When I wrote this article, my words betrayed a certain impatience with the fact that people speak of national understanding (at that time they still spoke in general terms), but too little is done about it. But I believe that there are really very worthwhile people in PRON--in the Temporary National Council and in the voivodship councils. Whether they are all the best people I do not know. But not even that is necessary--the majority must be very good. What I fear--and I stress this emphatically--is that PRON is in danger of becoming another National Unity Front. It should be a forum for real discussion, for a real exchange of ideas. That is the basic issue.

[Question] Professor Marian Orzechowski called PRON a "political experiment." In your opinion, professor, is this experiment succeeding?

[Answer] In politics everything is an experiment and, certainly, much depends upon the party and governmental leadership with regard to how PRON fares. But the success of this experiment also depends upon the entire society, upon those who, in electing their representatives to PRON, should also control them to a

certain degree. The lack of political culture is based upon the fact that the attempt is made to blame either the government or society. I do not recognize such a distinction. The government and the party are an integral part of this society. We must realize that the party and the government have exactly the same goals as the entire society: to furnish our common home, Poland, as well as possible, so that we may live in it well, harmoniously, safely and with culture.

[Question] What are you yourself doing to achieve this?

[Answer] I teach philosophy, among other subjects. Obviously, I do not try to make my lectures into political agitation, but, by showing students the development of philosophical thought, I form their general and political culture. I try to write to periodicals, I see various milieus during lectures, and wherever a concrete topic is under discussion, I try to broach these subjects. But the basic idea that I wish to transmit is very simple. It is not original with me (I do not find that discouraging, since I am reminded of Voltaire's statement: "I shall repeat what I think until I am understood"). Today, in the current complex situation, both in Poland and worldwide, what unites or should unite all Poles, i.e., the strengthening of their own statehood, the creation of those structures and mechanisms that would prevent the repetition of the crises that have occurred so many times in our postwar history is much more basic (and this is common to us all, regardless of our views or worldviews) than that which divides us. Unfortunately, I see the failure to understand this fundamental fact often in circles of people who have a high level of general culture but no political culture.

[Question] Why is it that these people, who possess tremendous intellectual potential, do not wish to understand, or cannot understand an obvious truth?

[Answer] That is not difficult to understand. Intellectuals, artists and scientists are people who can be and are very good at their profession. That does not mean, however, that they must be good in all other fields and that they have ready answers for everything. One can point to many examples of people who are excellent in their own professions--renowned scholars, intellectuals and writers--and who, when they take up politics, make terrible mistakes. The greatest danger, however, is often the fact that these kinds of people think in this way: "since I am bright and looked up to, not only do I have the right to express myself on all subjects, but what I say is also the wisest and the best." That is what I call a lack of political culture. For politics is based upon the common search for the best solutions for all. Here no one has a monopoly on truth, on a single correct solution. Here one must draw upon the life experience of all milieus, realizing that an intellectual sometimes has less feeling for political affairs and less to say about them than a worker, a peasant or the representatives of some other milieu.

[Question] Are there still many obstacles on the road to understanding?

[Answer] Yes. One of the manifestations of a lack of political culture is the fact that one imagines that one can resolve a crisis of one kind or another by simply changing a person or an idea. That is a grand delusion. Even in our

present situation, were we to use computers to pull out the best people in Poland for the Sejm and the government, it would take years for us to become a normal, stable society. People who expect quick solutions are deluding themselves, and there is nothing worse in politics than believing in illusions.

[Question] Professor, do you believe in such a normal, stable society?

[Answer] Yes, I absolutely do. I am an optimist, but an optimist without any illusions, and I do not expect such a society after a year or 2. While I do expect a constant improvement in economic and sociopolitical life, I do not anticipate a qualitative jump from day to day. But I am a firm believer in such a society, because if I were not, I would not do what I am doing. I hope that what I say and write offers some tiny input, some small measure of improvement for our situation.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

8536

CSO: 2600/540

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES

Czestochowa Province Field Trip Meeting

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 4 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] On 3 March a field trip meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Social Policy Commission took place in Czestochowa. It was dedicated to social-living problems and methods for their solution.

Commission members toured the Bierut Steelworks, the Stradom Linen Works, the Rudniki Cement-Lime Works, as well as educational and health care facilities. They were briefed on factory socioeconomic matters, employee social-living, work safety, and hygiene problems. While there, they acquainted themselves with the working conditions, and activities of health care and cultural facilities. In direct talks with the workers, they also touched upon the problems concerning the tasks of social, supply, and recreation commissions, etc. In reality, it was emphasized that solution of these problems would bring about an improved atmosphere in the work sector and in mutual relations among the workers.

According to factory employees, protective and work clothing supplies continue to be unsatisfactory. The payment of monetary equivalents does not solve the problems, since a shortage of these items exists on the market. Admittedly, an improvement in supplies of personal protective clothing and cleaning products has taken place, yet according to the workers, obligatory norms should take into account the broader needs of those employed in the so-called "dirty departments." A further improvement in safety, hygiene, and social problems was also noted due to a decrease in work-related accidents and work-related illnesses.

Much was said concerning social justice within the context of the current crisis. A closer link concerning relations between work output, individual output, and individual rewards was suggested, and also included equal distribution of welfare funds. Criticism was leveled against the unjustified price increases of certain goods and services, with demands for specific explanations concerning the reasons for the growth of inflationary phenomena in our nation in recent times. Emphasis was placed upon active and comprehensive party organization assistance in the solution of problems and complaints of working people.

During the commission's plenary session led by its vice-chairman, party and Central Committee member Zygmunt Galecki, PZPF Czestochowa Voivodship Committee and voivodship administration representatives reported on activities directed at the solution of social-living issues of the region's residents and factory workers. As was stressed, these matters remain at the center of interest for party echelon organizations. Much attention was devoted to these issues during the last reports-programs campaign. The efforts undertaken in this area contributed to a partial mitigation of the situation, but did not bring about the solution of many fundamental issues for voivodship residents. For example, housing construction, trade, transportation, health care, and education belong in this category.

Party organizations are undertaking a series of instrumental activities designed to resolve these problems. Party patronage over housing construction by the youth is an example of this, inspiring better leadership of the material-technical base by the state and economic administration, and ensuring conditions aimed at improving the quality of life.

Suwalki Province Executive Meeting

Bialystock GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 11 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by (m)]

[Text] The preparations for spring planting were evaluated at yesterday's PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board session. Based on information presented, it appears that last fall 46,000 hectares of winter grain, and 10,300 hectares of rapeseed were sown. Whereas, planned spring sowing includes 143,500 hectares grain 3,700 hectares potatoes, 10,400 hectares corn, and 2,600 hectares sugar beets. Supplies of sowing seeds are good. The first deliveries of seed to GS [Rural Commune Cooperatives] took place in mid-February 1983. Likewise reserves of mineral fertilizers, chiefly phosphate and potassium were large. The farmers, however, purchase them with reluctance due to the high prices and the repeal of the seasonal discounts. The forecast, however, for chemical pesticides is good. In turn, the preparation of equipment and tools needed for work in the fields is dependent upon the availability of spare parts, tires, and batteries. It is estimated for example, that only 80 percent of the tractors are operational. There is also a shortage of liquid fuels and oil.

The adopted proposals establish the direction and tasks of the farmers. They will concentrate, among other things, upon the dissemination of the principles of proper agricultural technology, the complete utilization of the methods available, as well as a change in the sowing structure so as to make better use of the cultivation of high-quality grain and fodder crops.

During the second portion of the session, the Executive Board acquainted itself with information on the accomplishment of tasks for the improvement of sanitary-epidemiologic conditions in the voivodship. It was determined that the situation continues to be unsatisfactory insofar as viral liver infections, meningitis, as well as the slight decrease in scabies and trichinosis outbreaks

are concerned. In spite of intensified preventative measures, the battle with these diseases continues to be difficult.

The Executive Board recognized that voivodship sanitary-epidemiological station [WSSE] work needs to be assessed positively. In 1982, a certain improvement was noted in the effectiveness of this organization's work. It was also determined that much still needs to be done. A need exists for paying particular attention to the sanitary conditions in the food industry, restaurants, commercial establishments, and schools. The increase of supervision over the sanitary conditions in hospitals, chiefly in maternity and childrens' wards is also essential.

Szczecin Maritime Commission Meeting

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 11-12-13 Mar 83 p1

[Text] A two-day PZPR Central Committee Maritime Commission conference began in Szczecin on 10 March. Participating in the proceedings was Central Committee PZPR Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus. Stanislaw Bejger, deputy Politburo member and PZPR Gdansk Voivodship Committee first secretary chaired the meetings.

Discussions concerned program assumptions and terms concerning maritime training of personnel, as well as the status of the fulfillment of proposals concerning maritime issues, and submitted during the Tenth PZPR Central Committee plenum. The commission also acquainted itself with the draft law concerning work on seagoing vessels.

The commission's plenary session was preceded by a short investigation of the Szczecin maritime economy enterprises. Members of the commission visited the Adolf Warski Shipyard in Szczecin, wherethey became acquainted with the work conditions, and with production output of special significance for domestic shipowners. The visit to the shipyard coincided with the 35th anniversary of the first launching of an ocean-going vessel in liberated Poland, on 10 March 1948. At that time, a smallish steamship the Oliwa was launched. Since that time, the Szczecin Shipyard has become one of the nation's largest builders of ocean-going vessels. Launched from this slipway were a total of 381 bulk carriers, general cargo ships, tankers, ocean ferries, as well as research vessels for carrying out complex ocean floor research.

The current year is being forecast as equally productive according to chief director Stanislaw Ozimek's report to commission members. Thirteen new vessels are to leave the fitting-out pier this year, this represents two more than were delivered to shipowners last year. At the same time plans exist for the launching of the hulls of thirteen other vessels, or three above the number launched in 1982. This is a difficult task.

The firm specializes in the construction of technologically complex vessels, and ones demanding the application of new technology, new machinery and materials. These will include, among others, research ships for use at great depths, vessels for ocean floor mining, and car and passenger ferries.

Commission members and conference guest participants were also briefed on educational-research work, and on the achievements of the Higher Maritime School in Szczecin. Next they toured the Szczecin port facilities, concerning themselves chiefly with the possibilities for better utilization of the transport potential, especially in the area of freight transit services. A similar issue, namely the possibility for increasing participation by the Polish shipping fleet in the servicing of Polish foreign trade in freight, as well as the transport of goods for foreign shippers, constituted the subject of discussion by commission members and Polish maritime shipping management. Conference participants acquainted themselves with the results of activity by the Szczecin Gryf Deep-Sea Fishing and Fish Services Enterprise, at which time they were also briefed on the situation in the entire Polish deep-sea fishing industry.

Minister Jerzy Korzonek, director of the Maritime Economy Office also participated in the commission session.

Olsztyn Province Executive Meeting

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 14 Mar 83, pp 1, 2

[Article by: Cz. P]

[Text] The Bartoszyce party organization is an energetic organ. The local authorities maintain good traditions concerning the expansive disclosure of numerous initiatives. These meet with the support of the residents. The city committee and the city manager's office work well jointly. Following the shock of the years 1980-1981, the Bartoszyce organization was able to regain its foothold earlier than the others.

On 9 March, the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board expressed this view by carrying out a review of the whole of the party activity of the PZPR City Committee in Bartoszyce. Of course, the evaluation of individual work areas did not take place without critical comments, yet this did not change the positive implications of the above formulation. Wishing to acquaint themselves more clear-sightedly with the regional echelons, the Voivodship Committee Executive Board departed for Bartoszyce. Previously, Executive Board members had participated in basic party organization [POP] meetings. city Committee [KM] Executive Board members were invited to participate in this session.

An exhibition depicting the results of the Bartoszyce enterprises was organized in the City Committee conference hall where the deliberations were taking place. Jan Laskowski, Voivodship Committee first secretary presided over the meetings. Session participants included Sergiusz Rubczewski, Olsztyn Voivoda; Colonel Henryk Swiecicki, KOK plenipotentiary; and Kazimierz Dudek, Voivodship Citizens' Militia [MO] commander.

Reporting on party work problems in Bartoszyce, City Committee first secretary, Tadeusz Chadaj, stressed in documents prepared for the Voivodship Committee

Executive Board that first and foremost, the activist effort was concentrated upon the building of party authority and guaranteeing its influence in the solution of all vital matters concerning the workers. He noted that we strive so that all our undertakings will ensue from the needs and aspirations of the residents, as well as from the plans of political parties and social organizations. We desire to improve life in Bartoszyce, and we are doing this together with its residents.

The Bartoszyce party organization includes 1175 members and candidate members. There are 512 workers in the party ranks. Since 1980, 271 persons have left the party. Party organizations are active in all the most important enterprises. The City Committee devotes much time to work with the basic party organizations [POP]. Each echelon member is placed in charge of a POP. Monthly meetings with POP secretaries and City Committee Executive Board sessions organized directly in the factories bring about the exchange of experiences, and the flow of information. From City Committee and City Committee Executive Board session subject matter, it appears that in addition to intraparty issues much attention is being devoted to economic problems. The search for the development of housing construction, an improvement in the operation of trade and communal economy, the guarantee of conditions necessary for activity by educational establishments and health care facilities--these are the problems which very often become the topic of party analysis and enter into the programs of activity.

The city manager, Jan Borodzicz reported on the current economic situation, and on the fulfillment of post-supervisory proposals of the armed forces supervisory board in Bartoszyce. The city of almost 21,000 residents has its own specific problems. Work enterprises employ 6,714 persons, out of this 3,100 are employed by industrial firms. In the Morena firm there is a shortage of workers capable of operating certain machinery. Skilled workers leave in search of better salaries. The Bartoszyce firms possess 200 unfilled jobs, while only 90 individuals are currently seeking employment. The authorities assert that here one must wait 12 years for a home. Therefore, housing construction has been recognized as the most important and urgent task. In 1983, cooperative construction foresees the completion of 258 homes. Almost everyone in Bartoszyce can obtain a lot for a one-family home. Currently 85 homes are being built, of which 25 will be turned over this year. Initiative for the construction of three apartment residences was undertaken within the communal construction framework and financed by the city budget.

Bartoszyce belongs to the few exceptions, where all children have already been guaranteed a place in nursery school. Out of the eight nursery schools, only one was established through capital investment funds, whereas the other seven were created through the modification and expansion of old buildings. Primary education finds itself in difficult straits, therefore the construction of a new primary school is being planned. The decision to build a hospital in Bartoszyce is creating the hope for a radical improvement in the health care sector. Construction of the hospital needs to be carried out within a time period not exceeding five years, with the voivodship leadership proclaiming itself in favor of this costly investment.

Bartoszyce has two sewage treatment plants, a biological and a mechanical one, yet the latter which is being fully exploited no longer purifies the municipal sewage. The dirty sewage flows to the Lyna River. Faced with this situation, the municipal authorities are demanding the construction of a new treatment plant. Demands are also being submitted for the setting up of municipal transportation in Bartoszyce. The city is developing rapidly, and distances are growing between individual residential areas. The difficulty in supplying the residents with water evokes many complaints and comments. The situation in the power plant, however, is significantly better. Gas supplies have improved following last year's furnace repairs. It is foreseeable that natural gas will be supplied to Bartoszyce by 1987. Last year's 650th anniversary commemorating the granting of municipal rights to Bartoszyce brought about the long-term repairs of streets and sidewalks. The work will continue steadily.

In summing up the deliberations, Voivodship Committee first secretary, Jan Laskowski agreed to the demands submitted, and pointed out the problems which the Bartoszyce party organization should deal with. He emphasized that the subject of continuous echelon interest must concern the analysis of attitudes in individual areas. The steady battle against social pathologic phenomena, and the guarantee of the proper functioning of the principles of justice on all enterprise and city levels is essential. The PZPR Voivodship Committee first secretary declared that the most important task currently concerns how to increase production, and decrease costs.

12229

CSO: 2600/603

ALLEGATIONS OF SLOVENE CULTURAL CHAUVINISM DENIED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 83 p 6

[Interview with Dr Matjaz Kmecl, president of the Republican Committee for Culture of Slovenia, by Stane Pucko; date and place not specified]

[Text] Matjaz Kmecl, president of the Republican Committee for Culture of Slovenia, speaks to VJESNIK about the mistaken conception of some Slovenian cultural characteristics and about the problems which the unfavorable economic situation imposes upon culture.

Frequently in recent times, questions are raised in the Yugoslav public about the Slovenian conception of culture--their individual characteristics obviously do not please some people and often they attempt to envelop them in nationalistic clothing. Is this a case of misunderstanding the Slovenian conception of culture, or perhaps even of bad intentions? In a conversation with VJESNIK, Dr Matjaz Kmecl, the president of the Republican Committee for Culture and a member of the Executive Committee of the assembly of the Slovenian Socialist Republic, otherwise a noted Slovenian writer, literary critic and docent at the Philosophical Faculty in Ljubljana, explains Slovenian cultural characteristics and culture in general, in light of the current poor economic situation.

[Question] Can one in general talk about a specific Slovenian conception of culture, and if yes--what is so delicate in it that it "disturbs" some people?

[Answer] If I understand culture as all that which man has created beyond nature, then the Slovenian conception of culture is nothing other than the general one. But, a specific history and position add some specific accents to the Slovenian conception. For example, their small number and divisions have from time immemorial forced the Slovenians into an inferior defense and even defeatism. Therefore, they stress the concern for their own identity and the so-called unity of the Slovenian cultural territory. If geographic and state borders already demarcate significant parts of the Slovenian ethnic territory from the cultural center, then such borders dare not exist for a common and united culture. This means that on the cultural level, the Slovenian territory must be united. Hence, the great concern for the

Slovenian minority in Italy and in Austrian Corinthia, which was for many centuries the Slovenian administrative and cultural center (here appeared the first Slovenian written documents, the first publishers, the first literary journals).

Linguistic interchange has developed along the main crossroads of Romance, German, Hungarian and South Slav culture, but at the same time also concern for our own language. It developed in the bloody battles against Germanizing pressures during the last 150 years into a sensitivity which is sometimes scarcely understandable to the neutral observer. The struggle for language was most often a struggle for basic national existence....

In fact, from this struggle there developed early on the Yugoslav conception and a belief in the necessary historical link to the other South Slav peoples. It is hard, therefore, to listen today to the criticisms that the Slovenian concern for its language is nationalistic and anti-Yugoslav, if it is known that the worthiest fathers of our language, from Levstik and Jurcic to Cankar and the later generations developed the Slovenian Yugoslav consciousness and led it to political fruition. Surely, it was not a game of chance that 27 Slovenian poets and writers fell in the National Liberation Struggle, and they did not die for Slovenian separatism but for a joint federal Yugoslavia.

[Question] The misunderstanding of the Slovenian conception of culture, nevertheless, is real, at least in one sector of our population. Charges of egoism and linguistic chauvinism in Slovenia are being heard.

[Answer] The misconception of the Slovenian conception of culture is a very good definition for the phenomenon of mutual misunderstanding or at least the tendency for that. I often cite the well-known maxim in medicine, "locus minoires resistentiae"--the health of the whole depends upon its weakest part. The ANVOJists knew: the healthier, stronger, more independent and freer each Yugoslav national unit is, the stronger joint-Yugoslavia will be. Some, nevertheless, forget this great adage.

Slovenian culture, unfortunately, does not exist analogously with economic strength of the republic. And certain expenditures "make it more expensive," for example: concern for the minorities, the small market, strongly felt, in the circulation of books, films, records, in the RTV with a smaller number of buyers and subscribers. For example, regardless of the conclusions and intentions which I am criticizing, we in Slovenia maintain 10 professional theaters, but the budget of the Republican Society of Culture is half as much of, say, the Bavarian State Opera. On the other hand, it does not amount to even 15 percent of the resources which Slovenia directly gives to the Fund for the Underdeveloped. I must emphasize that this is not a criticism, because this contribution is necessary. But, I cite this because I have already heard several times charges of Slovenian egoism. Slovenia, however, according to the material basis of its culture, surely is not among the developed.

In connection with the charges of Slovenian cultural chauvinism, I would like to remind you, for example, that in Slovenia, through transmitters, it is

possible to view Zagreb television and other programs from other television studios, in other words, programs which are mostly in the Serbo-Croatian language. These programs can be watched in two-thirds of Slovenia's territory. Somewhat more than 6 percent of Slovenia's population speak Serbo-Croatian as their mother tongue. This all seems to me to be a significant and the most democratic basis for cultural cooperation.

[Question] Does the misconception exist in Slovenia of the importance of the role of culture in overall social development?

[Answer] Culture is often the ammunition in the canonade of economy. It goes something like this: some kind of national purpose is necessary to make a culture. This, ultimately, is even pleasant, but why must we still pay for it! Recently, I received the petition of a working organization which requested the highest republican and state organs to free it of its contribution to the underdeveloped and to culture, because it is suffering material difficulties. This is a very rare example of economic egoism which we, in our fetishistic relations, are prepared to even consider and tolerate. This is clear proof of how great the crisis of our economy is, as well as the crisis of morals and culture. As if culture (as well as the underdeveloped) is more or less an unnecessary burden and therefore it would be good to get rid of it.

But, good. Culture is prepared to work as a moral stimulus, and really, therefore, this is an area from which we obtain much more than we invest in it. It is important that culture, even during a crisis, maintain its own timetable, and that is, above all, the democratic receptivity and accessibility of the greatest cultural values, regardless of where they appear. This is a polycentrism, a guarding of the united, and with that, social territory, the clear differentiation of the quality, and at the same time, of the wide development of amateurism as a necessary substrata for all.

The cultural function of television also becomes all the more significant because of the public's decreased mobility. By broadcasting its own and other cultural programs, it informs and unites the entire national audience. This also holds true for radio. We will also note that recently cinema attendance has significantly increased, book sales have grown enormously, publishers' programs have become more selective, and subsequently better.

Stabilization, hence, also shows some positive, although not pleasant results. But, it is not necessary to be afraid, we will survive. Good organization, harmonization and management depends how the financial restrictions--not only nominal but real ones--will be reflected in life with stabilization.

12217
CSO: 2800/234

YUGOSLAV PRESS CORRESPONDENTS ABROAD

Belgrade NASA STAMPA in Serbo-Croatian Feb 83 p 14

[Text] The entire Yugoslav news media has a total of 99 permanent correspondents abroad. We are not counting reporters here, who for various reasons (family and others) live abroad and have specific arrangements with their editorial staffs.

EVROPA - Europe

ANKARA	- 1 Tanjug
ATINA Athens	- 3 Nova Makedonija, Politika, Tanjug
BERLIN	- 2 Delo, Tanjug
BEČ Vienna	- 2 Delo, Tanjug
BON Bonn	- 5 Vjesnik, Oslobođenje, Politika, Rilindja, Tanjug
BRISSEL Brussels	- 2 Delo, Tanjug
BUKUREST	- 1 Tanjug Bucharest
VARŠAVA Warsaw	- 2 Borba, Tanjug
ŽENEVA Geneva	- 1 Tanjug
LISABON Lisbon	- 1 Tanjug
LONDON	- 3 Politika, Delo, Tanjug
MADRID	- 2 RTVZ, Tanjug
MOSKVA Moscow	- 9 Oslobođenje, Vjesnik, Delo, Nova Makedonija, Politika, Borba, RV Titograd, Tanjug (2)
NIKOZIJA Nicosia	- 1 Tanjug
PARIZ Paris	- 4 Vjesnik, Delo, Politika, Tanjug
PRAG Prague	- 1 Tanjug
RIM Rome	- 6 Vjesnik, Delo, Politika, RTVZ, Tanjug
SOFIJA Sofia	- 2 Nova Makedonija, Tanjug
ŠTOKHOLM	- 1 Tanjug Stockholm
TRST Trieste	- 1 TVLJ
GORICA Gorizia	- 1 Delo
CELOVEC	- 2 TV - Ljubljana Klagenfurt
FRANKFURT	- 1 Oslobođenje

SAD USA

VAŠINGTON - 1 Tanjug Washington
NJUJORK N.Y. - 9 Vjesnik, Oslobođenje, Politika, Borba, Delo, TV - Beograd, Rilindja, Tanjug

AZIJA Asia

KOLOMBO - 1 Tanjug
NJU DELHI - 3 Borba, Politika, Tanjug New Delhi
PEKING - 4 Politika, Vjesnik, RTV Beograd, Tanjug
TOKIO Tokyo - 1 Tanjug
BANGKOK - 1 Tanjug
DŽAKARTA - 1 Tanjug Jakarta
TEHERAN - 1 Tanjug

ARAPSKJE ZEMLJE Arab Lands

ALŽIR Algiers - 1 Tanjug
BAGDAD - 2 Rilindja, Tanjug
BEJRUT Beirut - 1 Tanjug
KAIRO Cairo - 4 Politika, Borba, Oslobođenje, Tanjug

OSTALE AFRIČKE ZEMLJE The Rest of the African Countries

ADIS ABEBA - 1 Tanjug Addis Ababa
HARARE - 1 Borba
LUSAKA - 1 Tanjug
LUANDA - 1 Tanjug
NAIROBI - 2 Delo, Tanjug

AUSTRALIJA Australia

SIDNEJ Sidney - 1 Tanjug

LATINSKA AMERIKA Latin America

BUENOS AIRES - 1 Tanjug
LIMA - 1 Tanjug
CVADAD MEXIKO - 3 Borba, Politika, Tanjug Mexico City
RIO DE ŽANEIRO - 1 Tanjug Rio de Janeiro
HAVANA - 1 Tanjug

12217

CSO: 2800/224

END